

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

FROM
THE YEAR 1765, TO THE
YEAR 1795.

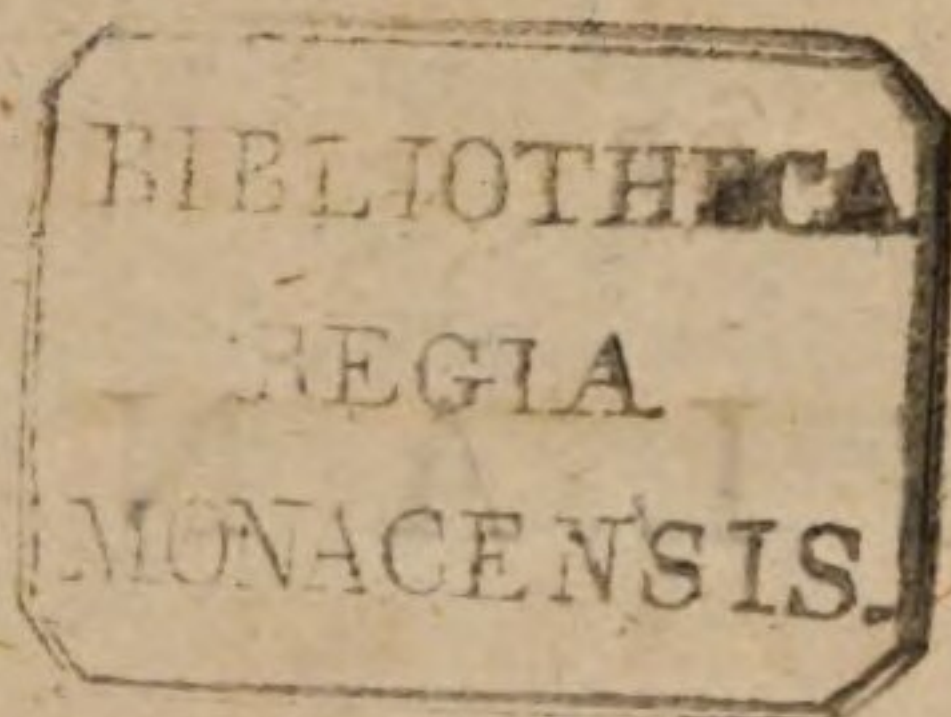
*Being a CONTINUATION of the HISTORIES of
Mr. HUME and Dr. SMOLLETT.*

By J. BARLOW, Esq.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

THIRD VOLUME.

CHAP. XIII.

MEETING of the British parliament—Spirited debates on the address—Inquiry into the state of the navy—News arrives of Burgoyne's defeat—Debates on that subject—Voluntier regiments raised—Debates on that subject—Inquiry into the state of the nation in both houses—Duke of Richmond's resolutions—Lord North's conciliatory bills—Alliance between France and America—Debates on the French war—Address for a war with France—Death and character of lord Chatham—Relief to the trade of Ireland—To the Roman Catholics—Motion against contractors—Toulon squadron sails for America—Termination of the session—Transactions of the royal commissioners in America—Arrival of D'Estaing—Philadelphia evacuated—Court martial on general Lee—Ambassador from France to America—Attempt on Rhode Island—Expedition against East Florida—Savannah taken by the British—Naval preparations—Engagement between Keppel and D'Orvilliers—Trial of Keppel—Trial of sir H. Palliser. Page 1

CHAP. XIV.

Meeting of parliament—Debates on the manifesto of the commissioners—Affairs of Ireland—Votes of censure moved on lord Sandwich—Return of the Howes—Debates thereon

CONTENTS OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

thereon—Spaniards declare war—Regulation of militia—Parliament prorogued—War in East Indies—In America—Descent on Virginia—Capture of Stony Point—British attack South-Carolina—Repulsed at Charlestown—Proceedings of French fleet—Siege of Savannah by the French and Americans—Siege raised—Capture of the British settlements on the coast of Africa by the French. Page 90

CHAP. XV.

Alarm from the appearance of the combined fleet off the coast—Irish volunteers—Proceedings of the Irish parliament—Depredations of Paul Jones—Takes the Serapis—Engagement between the Quebec and Surveillante—Secret enmity between the States General and the English cabinet—Meeting of parliament—Debates on the address—Duel between Mr. Fox and Mr. Adam—Debates on Irish affairs—On expenses of the war—On army extraordinaries—Associations and petitions from York, &c.—Mr. Burke's plan of reform—Motions for commissioners of accounts—Motion relative to pensions—Progress of Mr. Burke's bill—Celebrated vote on the influence of the crown—Riots in London—Siege of Gibraltar—Admiral Langara defeated by Rodney—Charlestown taken—Impolitic proceedings of the English in Carolina—Americans rally—Gates defeated—Distresses of Americans—Predatory campaign in the North—Arrival of Rochambeau—Defection of general Arnold—André executed as a spy. Page 127

CHAP. XVI.

Causes which produced a rupture with Holland—Armed neutrality—Count Byland's squadron taken—Capture of Mr. Laurens—Declaration of war—Affairs of East Indies—Meeting of new parliament—Mr. Cornwall chosen speaker—Debates on that subject—Death of Maria

CONTENTS OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

ria Theresa—Hurricane in the West Indies—Relief granted by parliament to the sufferers—Debates on Dutch war—Debates on India affairs—Mr. Burke's reform bill again introduced—State of public finances—Loan censured in both houses—Petition of delegates from counties—Bill to repeal the marriage act—Rejected—Motion on American war—Session concluded—Attack upon Jersey—Siege of Gibraltar—Capture of St. Eustatia—Campaign in America—Revolt of Pennsylvania line—Arnold's expedition to Virginia—General Greene appointed to the command in Carolina—Tarleton defeated by Morgan—Masterly retreat of the Americans—Battle of Guilford—Lord Cornwallis proceeds to Virginia—Operations in Virginia—Capture of lord Cornwallis—New London destroyed—Expedition of commodore Johnstone—Operations in the West Indies—Tobago taken—St. Eustatia convoy taken—East Indies—Hyder Ally defeated—Cheyt Sing—Engagement with the Dutch—Combined fleets in the Channel—Mr. Laurens released from the Tower.

Page 233

CHAP. XVII.

Decline of lord North's influence---Session of parliament---King's speech---Debate on the address---Revived---Motions by Mr. Pitt to withhold the supplies---Mr. Burke's motion concerning St. Eustatius---Motion against offensive war with America---Army estimates---Petitions against the war---Misconduct of admiralty---Lord George Germaine created a peer---General Conway's motion against the war---Further motions to that effect---Dissolution of the ministry---Characters of the leading persons among them---New ministry---Popular measures---Embarrassed by lord Thurlow---Affairs of Ireland---Reform bills---Campaign of 1782---Minorca taken---Successes of the French in the West Indies---De Grasse defeated by Rodney---Misfortunes of West India fleet---

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CONTENTS OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

*Bahamas taken by the Spaniards---American affairs---
Death of captain Huddy---Difficult situation of captain
Asgill---Evacuation of Georgia and South-Carolina---
Dutch forts in Africa taken---Trincomalé taken by the
English---Defeat of Spaniards at Gibraltar---Death of
lord Rockingham---New administration. Page 325.*

THE History of England,

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CHAP. XIII.

Meeting of the British parliament—Spirited debates on the address—Inquiry into the state of the navy—News arrives of Burgoyne's defeat—Debates on that subject—Voluntier regiments raised—Debates on that subject—Inquiry into the state of the nation in both houses—Duke of Richmond's resolutions—Lord North's conciliatory bills—Alliance between France and America—Debates on the French war—Address for a war with France—Death and character of lord Chatham—Relief to the trade of Ireland—To the Roman Catholics—Motion against contractors—Toulon squadron sails for America—Termination of the session—Transactions of the royal commissioners in America—Arrival of D'Estaing—Philadelphia evacuated—Court martial on general Lee—Ambassador from France to America—Attempt on Rhé Island—Expedition against East Florida—Savannah taken by the British—Naval preparations—Engagement between Keppel and D'Orvilliers—Trial of Keppel—Trial of sir H. Palliser.

[A. D. 1777, 1778.]

THE first successes of general Burgoyne elevated the hopes of the tory party in England to the highest pitch of extravagance; and it has been supposed that the meeting of parliament was delayed to an unusual period in order to afford his majesty an opportunity of congratulating

tulating the British senate on the glorious event of the northern expedition. The defeat of the German auxiliaries, which arrived in England previous to the commencement of the session, did not serve entirely to remove the confident hopes of success which this infatuated administration still entertained. In the speech from the throne to both houses on the 20th of November, his majesty expressed his satisfaction, “that he could have recourse to the wisdom and support of his parliament, in this conjuncture, when the continuance of the rebellion in North America demanded the most serious attention. The powers, with which they had entrusted his majesty, had been faithfully exerted; and he had a just *confidence*, that the courage and conduct of his officers, and the spirit and intrepidity of his forces, both by sea and land, would, *under the blessing of Divine Providence*, be attended with important success; but as they would see the necessity of preparing for future operations, measures should still be pursued for keeping the land forces to their present establishment; and if his majesty should have occasion to increase them, by contracting any new engagements, he relied on the zeal and public spirit of parliament to enable him to make them good.” It was mentioned, “that *repeated assurances from foreign powers* of their *pacific disposition* had been received; but that while the armaments in the ports of France and Spain continued, his majesty had thought it advisable to make a considerable augmentation to his naval force, as well to keep the kingdom in a respectable state of security, as to provide an adequate protection to the extensive commerce of his subjects: The commons were informed, that the various services which had been mentioned, would unavoidably require large supplies; and a profession was made, that nothing could relieve his majesty’s mind from the concern which it felt for the heavy charge they must bring upon the people, but a conviction of their being necessary for the welfare and essential interests of these kingdoms. The speech concluded, with a resolution of *steadily pursuing* the measures in which they were engaged for the re-establishment of that constitutional *subordination*, which his majesty was *determined*.

determined to maintain through the several parts of his dominions, accompanied with a profession of being watchful for an opportunity of putting a stop to the effusion of the blood of his subjects; and a renewal or continuance of the former hope, that the DELUDED and unhappy multitude would return to their allegiance, upon a recollection of the blessings of their government, and a comparison with the miseries of their present situation."

In answer to this speech, addresses were moved, as usual, full of panegyrics on the speech, and the profound wisdom of the ministry. Sir Gilbert Elliot, who seconded this motion for the address, declared himself so fully satisfied with the wisdom and rectitude of those in office, and the extreme utility of their measures, that he could not refrain from being lost in astonishment, if it should happen that any man who was a native of this country, and bred up in due allegiance to the throne, could, under any impulse of faction, venture to stand up in that house, and so far to abet the American REBELS, as to express a sentiment contrary to the spirit of the measures which were adopted by government, and which were now so graciously communicated from the throne.

So vehement a declamation in favour of ministerial measures, might well have been supposed ironical, had it not become the subject of serious debate in parliament. The state of the nation was indeed very far from being flourishing. Our foreign commerce was considerably embarrassed, and loaded with extraordinary charges; in some branches it was reduced; and in others, such as the African, nearly annihilated. That commerce, indeed, so long the object of envy to other nations, was so immense in its extent, and involved such a multitude of great and material objects, that it was not to be shaken, without some very extraordinary convulsion or uncommon accident, and therefore bore many prodigious shocks before they were capable of apparently affecting its general system.

In other respects, the aspect of public affairs was sufficient to enable the most superficial observer to refute the speech of the courtly member. The coasts of Great Britain and Ireland were insulted by the American priva-

teers, in a manner which our hardiest foreign enemies had never ventured in any contest. Even our domestic trade was rendered insecure. The ships from Dublin and Newry were, for the first time, attended by a convoy. The Thames also presented the unusual and melancholy spectacle of numbers of foreign ships, particularly French, taking in cargoes of English commodities for various parts of Europe, the property of British merchants, who were thus reduced to seek that protection from other nations, which the British flag had hitherto been accustomed to afford to all the world.

The conduct of France, during the whole of this year, had been so unequivocal, that an impartial reader can scarcely help admiring the effrontery with which ministry had hitherto insisted, and still continued to insist, that her intentions were really pacific. She was not indeed yet arrived at that state of preparation, which would have enabled her to commence hostilities immediately. She occasionally relaxed in certain articles, where the British ministry found themselves obliged to press with more than usual vigour. Thus, when Cunningham, a bold American adventurer, had taken, and carried into Dunkirk, with a privateer fitted out from that port, the English packet from Holland, and sent the mail to the American ministers at Paris, it then became necessary, to save appearances, to imprison Cunningham and his crew. To prevent this from giving any offence to the Americans, however, his imprisonment was represented as occasioned by some informality in his commission, which brought him very near, if not within the verge of piracy. Even this was very soon passed over. The American adventurer and his crew were released from their mock confinement, and he was permitted to purchase a much stronger vessel and a better sailer than before, avowedly to infest the British commerce as usual. At another time, when the French Newfoundland fishery would have been totally intercepted and destroyed in case of an immediate rupture, and the capture of their seamen would have been more ruinous and irreparable than the loss even of the ships and cargoes, lord Stormont obtained an order from the French ministers,

ministers, that all the American privateers, with their prizes, should immediately depart the kingdom. Expedients, however, were practised on this occasion with such success, that the order was not obeyed in any one instance, though it effectually answered the end held in view by the French court, *viz.* that of protracting time, by opening a subject of tedious and indecisive controversy, until their ships were safe in port. With regard to the Americans, they had the fullest assurance from M. de Sartine, the French minister, that the king would protect his subjects in trading with them; and for this purpose, a public instrument was sent to the several chambers of commerce, assuring them of what we have just now related.

Under these circumstances, the speech of that member which we have just now related, met with the most severe animadversion. It was answered by the marquis of Granby, who, from his first coming into parliament, had uniformly opposed the whole system of American measures. After stating and lamenting, in a pathetic manner, the ruinous effects of the war, he declared himself filled with the most ardent desire for grasping at the present moment of time, and of having the happiness even to lay the ground-work of an accommodation. He therefore moved an amendment to the address, the substance of which was, "To request of his majesty to adopt some measures for accommodating the differences with America; and recommending a cessation of all hostilities, as necessary for the effectuating so desirable a purpose; with an assurance, that the commons were determined to co-operate with him in every measure that could contribute to the re-establishment of peace, and the drawing such lines as should afford sufficient security to the terms of pacification."

This motion was seconded with additional arguments by lord John Cavendish, and supported by the opposition in general, on nearly the following grounds. After three years' war, the expenditure of fifteen millions of money, and the loss of many brave troops, we had no more prospect of bettering our affairs than when we began. Notwith-

standing the hopes of success yearly held out in the speech, our progress exhibited an uninterrupted series of mortifying disappointments and humiliating losses. The state of interest, of the stocks, and of real estates, as well as the gazettes, too plainly showed the degree in which our trade had been affected; and the loss of our American, West Indian, African, Mediterranean, and Levant commerce took from our national opulence in a manner too palpable for the disguise of equivocating and artful misrepresentations; while the defenceless state of our coasts and trade fleets demonstrated that if we were at present incompetent for the protection of national commerce, we should be greatly more so when involved in a war with the house of Bourbon, an event which gentlemen in opposition regarded as fast approaching: And this was the time to extricate ourselves from our difficulties by a reversal of that ruinous and absurd system of coercion which irritated the Americans, strengthened the hands of our enemies, and brought no advantage to ourselves.

On the other hand, the minister and his friends declared, that although nothing could be more at heart than a peace, yet a cessation of arms, at this period, would amount to a declaration of independency; that the commissioners had powers to grant that cessation when overtures from the other side justified the measure; that there was no reason to apprehend any hostilities from France or Spain; yet as there was a portion of ambiguity in their behaviour, it had been judged proper to put the nation in a state of defence; as to America, the difficulty with which congress raised men, and the hardships they brought upon those under them, would soon open the eyes of that deluded people, but that such an happy event would be obstructed by the proposed amendment; the question now was not, whether America should be independent, but whether Great Britain or America should be independent! Both could not exist at the same time, and if independence was to be granted to America, Great Britain in the course of a few years would be reduced to a most humiliating state of vassalage to the colonies. Opposition had blamed the American secretary for arming the Indians; the

the measure was perfectly justifiable on the score of necessity. The proposal for amendment was rejected by 243 to 86.

The debate in the upper house was rendered peculiarly interesting by the presence of lord Chatham, who himself moved an amendment of similar import to that of lord Granby. He said, "It had been usual on similar occasions of public difficulty and distress, for the crown to make application to that house, the great hereditary council of the nation, for advice and assistance. As it is the right of parliament to give, so it is the duty of the crown to ask it. But on this day, and in this extreme momentous exigency, no reliance is reposed on your councils, no advice is asked of parliament; but the crown, from itself, and by itself, declares an unalterable determination to pursue its own preconcerted measures; and what measures, my lords? Measures which have produced hitherto nothing but disappointments and defeats. I cannot, my lords, I will not join in congratulation on misfortune and disgrace. This, my lords, is a perilous and tremendous moment; it is not a time for adulation; the smoothness of flattery cannot save us in this rugged and awful crisis. It is now necessary to instruct the throne in the language of TRUTH. We must, if possible, dispel the delusion and darkness which envelope it; and display in its full danger, and genuine colours, the ruin which is brought to our doors. Can ministers still presume to expect support in their infatuation? Can parliament be so dead to its dignity and duty as to give their support to measures thus obtruded and forced upon them? measures, my lords, which have reduced this late flourishing empire to scorn and contempt! "But yesterday, and England might have stood against the world; now, none so poor to do her reverence." The people whom we at first despised as *rebels*, but whom we now acknowledge as *enemies*, are abetted against you, supplied with every military store, their interests consulted, and their ambassadors entertained by your inveterate enemy—and our ministers do not, and dare not interpose with dignity or effect. The desperate state of our army abroad is in part known. No man more
highly

highly esteems and honours the English troops than I do: I know their virtues and their valour; I know they can achieve any thing except impossibilities; and I know that the conquest of English America is an impossibility. You cannot, my lords, you cannot conquer America. What is your present situation there? We do not know the worst; but we know that in three campaigns we have done nothing, and suffered much. You may swell every expense, and strain every effort, accumulate every assistance, and extend your traffic to the *shambles* of every German despot, your attempts will be for ever vain and impotent--doubly so, indeed, from this mercenary aid, on which you rely; for it irritates to an incurable resentment the minds of your adversaries to over-run them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder, devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty. If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms--Never, never, never! But, my lords, who is the man that, in addition to the disgraces and mischiefs of the war, has dared to authorise and associate to our arms the *tomahawk* and *scalping-knife* of the savage? to call into civilized alliance the wild and inhuman inhabitant of the woods? to delegate to the merciless Indian the defence of disputed rights, and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren? My lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment. Familiarized to the horrid scenes of savage cruelty, our army can no longer boast of the noble and generous principles which dignify a soldier. No longer are their feelings awake to the "pride, pomp, and circumstance of a glorious war;" but the sense of honour is degraded into a vile spirit of plunder, and the systematic practice of murder. From the ancient connexion between Great Britain and her colonies, both parties derived the most important advantage. While the shield of our protection was extended over America, she was the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our strength, the basis of our power. It is not, my lords, a wild and lawless banditti whom we oppose: The resistance of America is the struggle of free and virtuous

virtuous patriots. Let us then seize with eagerness the present moment of reconciliation. America has not yet finally given herself up to France: There yet remains a possibility of escape from the fatal effect of our delusions. In this complicated crisis of danger, weakness, and calamity, terrified and insulted by the neighbouring powers, unable to act in America, or acting only to be destroyed, where is the man who will venture to flatter us with the hope of success from perseverance in measures productive of these dire effects? Who has the effrontery to attempt it? Where is that man? Let him, if he dare, stand forward and show his face. You cannot conciliate America by your present measures; you cannot subdue her by your present or any measures. What then can you do? You cannot conquer, you cannot gain; but you can address, you can lull the fears and anxieties of the moment into ignorance of the danger that should produce them. I did hope, instead of that false and empty pride engendering high conceits and presumptuous imaginations, that ministers would have humbled themselves in their errors---would have confessed and retracted them, and, by an active, though a late repentance, have endeavoured to redeem them. But, my lords, since they have neither sagacity to foresee, nor justice nor humanity to shun those calamities; since not even bitter experience can make them feel, nor the imminent ruin of their country awaken them from their stupefaction, the guardian care of parliament must interpose. I shall therefore, my lords, propose to you an amendment to the address to his majesty ---To recommend an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both countries. This, my lords, is yet in our power, and let not the wisdom and justice of your lordships neglect the happy and perhaps the only opportunity."

His lordship was ably supported by the other lords in opposition. The ministry strongly defended not only the policy but the justice of employing the Indians. If the women and children of the Americans were destroyed by these

these savages, they only were to blame, who, by their *rebellion*, had brought upon themselves these calamities. In the course of the debate, lord Suffolk had the effrontery to assert, that the measure was also allowable on *principle*, for that it was perfectly justifiable to use all the means that God and nature had put into our hands.

The whole of these arguments, and particularly the last, excited at once the stern indignation of lord Chatham: He suddenly rose, and gave full vent to his feelings: "I am astonished," exclaimed his lordship, "shocked to hear such principles confessed; to hear them avowed in this house, or even in this country. My lords, I did not intend to have encroached again on your attention, but I cannot repress my indignation—I feel myself impelled to speak. My lords, we are called upon as members of this house, as men, as christians, to protest against such horrible barbarity.—That God and nature put into our hands! What ideas of God and nature that noble lord may entertain I know not—but I know that such detestable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife!—to the cannibal savage torturing, murdering, devouring, drinking the blood of his mangled victims! Such notions shock every precept of morality, every feeling of humanity, every sentiment of honour. These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the most decisive indignation. I call upon that right reverend and this most learned bench to vindicate the religion of their God, to support the justice of their country. I call upon the bishops, to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn—upon the judges, to interpose the purity of their ermine to save us from this pollution. I call upon the honour of your lordships, to reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to maintain your own. I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country, to vindicate the national character. I invoke the genius of the constitution. From the tapestry that adorns these walls the immortal ancestor of this noble lord frowns with indignation at the disgrace
of

of his country. In vain did he defend the liberty and establish the religion of Britain against the tyranny of Rome, if these worse than popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are endured among us. To send forth the merciless cannibal thirsting for blood!—against whom?—Your protestant brethren!—to lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name by the aid and instrumentality of these *hell-hounds of war*! Spain can no longer boast pre-eminence in barbarity. She armed herself with blood-hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of Mexico; but we, more ruthless, loose these *dogs of war* against our countrymen in America, endeared to us by every tie that should sanctify humanity. My lords, I solemnly call upon your lordships, and upon every order of men in the state, to stamp upon this infamous procedure the indelible stigma of the public abhorrence. More particularly I call upon the holy prelates of our religion to do away this iniquity; let them perform a lustration to purify their country from this deep and deadly sin. My lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more; but my feelings and indignation were too strong to have said less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor reposed my head upon my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such enormous and preposterous principles.” After this grand effusion, the reader will be surprised to hear, that on the division, 28 lords only voted in support of the motion, against 97 who opposed it.

Immediately consequent to this debate, the opposition, in both houses, employed every endeavour to procure an inquiry into the state of the navy. Upon a motion in the committee of supply for 60,000 seamen for the service of 1778, one of the lords of the admiralty was entering upon a satisfactory explanation; but he was interrupted by one of the committee, who objected to his making public discoveries of private official concerns, as it afforded a dangerous knowledge to our enemies. To this the opposition replied, “that the refusal of this information was contrary to the rule and custom of that house.”

who had a right to know what they were voting for; that ministers had no secrets which could avail an enemy; it was parliament only whom they wished to keep in the dark, and that there needed no other proof of the wretched state of our navy than the constant pains ministers had taken to conceal it." Pressed in this manner, the admiralty gave in a statement of the navy, to which great objections were offered, and both in this house and the other it was proved, that we had no more than twenty ships of the line fit for service, in contradiction to the assertion of lord Sandwich, who said we had thirty-five, fully manned, besides seven more which wanted only men. It was likewise affirmed by opposition, that in the year 1759, our naval establishment, with respect to men, did not exceed the present; and that the whole expense amounted only to 2,500,000l.; whereas the peace establishment of 1778 exceeded five millions. The resolution for 60,000 seamen passed without a division. About the same time the bill of the preceding session for the suspension of the *habeas corpus* law in certain cases, nearly expiring, it was moved that a bill should be brought in to renew the powers of that bill during a certain limited time. After much opposition this bill was passed, on the last reading, by a majority of 116 to 60. In the further progress of the committee of ways and means, complaints were made of the enormous and unaccountable expenses of this war; the utmost astonishment was expressed at the supine inattention of country gentlemen to these expenses; and ministers were asked to specify a time when an end might be expected of the present contest, and to say whether, on the supposition of our success, or of reconciliation or submission on the part of the colonies, we were to expect a revenue from them? These questions producing some observations on the state of the nation, Mr. Fox, on the 2d of December, moved for a committee of the whole house to consider of the state of the nation, under the following heads; "the expenses and situation of the war, and the resources for its continuance; the loss of men; situation of trade; and the progress of the commissioners in bringing about a peace."

To

To this the minister agreed, and several other subsequent motions to the same purpose ; but Mr. Fox having moved for an address to lay before them copies of the papers relative to the steps taken in consequence of a particular clause of the prohibitory bill, and the consequences that bill had produced ; he was strongly opposed by the minister, who reprobated discoveries that were contrary to established practice, and might be detrimental. It is remarkable, that while the minister and his friends were giving every possible opposition to the motion, word was brought that a similar motion, made in the other house by the duke of Grafton, had been agreed to by the lords in administration. This totally disconcerted the ministers in the lower house, and gave additional strength to the opposition, who called upon the majority to resent this flagrant indignity offered to the British house of commons. The minister, however, peremptorily maintained his original opinion, and declared against the house being influenced by what might take place in the house of lords. In the course of the debate, the American secretary acknowledged that he could not help entertaining doubts of the practicability of our conquering America, and that although his conduct would bear a perfect justification as being founded on the information he had received, yet he had reason to doubt the authenticity of some part of that information : But that as America was already almost ruined, he must oppose every idea of a federal union with rebels ; and give his opinion for continuing the war. Upon a division the numbers were 178 to 89.

On the succeeding day ministers were completely humbled by the disastrous intelligence from America. Lord North shed tears ; and the American secretary shrunk, oppressed with shame and disappointment, under the just invectives of the minority. On the 5th the earl of Chatham moved in the house of lords, " that an address be presented to his majesty, to cause the proper officers to lay before the house copies of all orders and instructions to general Burgoyne relative to the late expedition from Canada." Holding up a paper in view of the house,

his lordship said, "that he had the king's speech in his hand, and a deep sense of the public calamity in his heart. That speech, he said, contained a most unfaithful picture of the state of public affairs; it had a specious outside, was full of hopes, while every thing within was full of danger. A system destructive of all faith and confidence had been introduced, his lordship affirmed, within the last fifteen years at St. James's, by which pliable men, not capable men, had been raised to the highest posts of government. A few obscure persons had obtained an ascendancy where no man should have a personal ascendancy, and by the most insidious means the nation had been betrayed into a war of which they now reaped the bitter fruits. The SPIRIT of DELUSION, his lordship said, had gone forth; ministers had imposed on the people; parliament had been induced to sanctify the imposition; a visionary phantom of revenue had been conjured up for the basest of purposes, but it was now for ever vanished. His lordship said, that the abilities of general Burgoyne were confessed, his personal bravery not surpassed, his zeal in the service unquestionable. He had experienced no pestilence, nor suffered any of the accidents which sometimes supersede the wisest and most spirited exertions of human industry. What then is the cause of his misfortune?—Want of wisdom in our councils, want of ability in our ministers. His lordship said, the plan of penetrating into the colonies from Canada was a most wild, uncombined, and mad project; and the mode of carrying on the war was the most bloody, barbarous, and ferocious recorded in the annals of history. The arms of Britain had been sullied and tarnished by blending the scalping-knife and tomahawk with the sword and firelock. Such a mode of warfare was a contamination which all the waters of the Hudson and the Delaware would never wash away. It was impossible for America to forget or forgive so horrid an injury."

In the course of his speech he animadverted in the severest terms on the language recently held by the archbishop of York. "The pernicious doctrines advanced by

by that prelate were, he said, the doctrines of Atterbury and Sacheverel. As a whig he abjured and detested them; and he hoped he should yet see the day when they would be deemed libellous, and treated as such." The motion being negatived, his lordship next moved an address to the king, "that all orders and treaties relative to the employment of the Indian savages be laid before the house."

Lord Gower rose to oppose the motion, and asserted, "that the noble lord had himself employed savages without scruple in the operations of the last war." This charge lord Chatham positively and peremptorily denied, and challenged the ministers, if any such instructions of his were to be found, to produce them. If at all employed, they had crept into the service, from the occasional utility of their assistance in unexplored parts of the country. He said, "the late king George II. had too much regard for the military dignity of his people, and also too much humanity, to agree to such a proposal, had it been made to him, and he called upon lord Amherst to declare the truth." Lord Amherst, not able to evade this appeal, reluctantly owned that Indians had been employed on both sides—the French employed them first, he said, and we followed their example; but that he had been authorised to take them into his majesty's service by instructions from the minister, his lordship would not affirm. The motion was dismissed by the previous question.

A motion made about this time for an adjournment to the 20th of January was strongly resisted by the opposition, who demonstrated the impolicy at so critical a juncture of indulging in so long a recess. Lord Chatham declared, "that it was with grief and astonishment he heard a proposal made of a nature so extraordinary at a crisis so urgent; when," said he, "my lords, I will be bold to say, events of a most alarming tendency, little expected or foreseen, will shortly happen. Ministers flatter themselves, whenever the worst comes, that they shall be able to shelter themselves behind the authority of parliament; but this, my lords, cannot be. They stand committed, and they must abide the issue. The day of retribution is

at hand, when the vengeance of a much-injured people will, I trust, fall heavily on the authors of their ruin."

Notwithstanding these repeated blunders and miscarriages, the ministry were still determined to persevere in the ruinous measures, in which they had embarked; but the great difficulty was, how to replace the army which had been lost under Burgoyne. During the recess therefore the agents of ministry were employed to excite the tory party in England to come forward with contributions. The towns of Manchester and Liverpool, the one notorious for its long adherence to jacobite principles, and the other rendered infamous by being the great supporter of that horrible traffic in human blood, the slave-trade, took the lead in the business, and instantly offered to raise each an army of 1000 men. There never was a more scandalous *job* than the raising of both these regiments, which was entirely effected by the agency of a few interested men, who by that means were enabled, at the expense of the bubbled subscribers, to procure commissions for their bankrupt relations. In other places public meetings were called, and much encouragement given to this ministerial scheme; and resolutions were proposed for the general levying of men for his majesty's service.

Had it been possible to procure the countenance of the city of London on this occasion, it would have been of the utmost consequence, not only on account of the importance of the city itself; but the example it would have set to others, and the sanction it would have afforded to ministerial measures, both such as were already past, and those which were likely to be adopted. This idea was even entertained by ministers, notwithstanding the almost continual course of altercation which had so long subsisted between them and that city. Several of the popular leaders in it had, from various causes, lost much of their former weight and influence. Patronage and influence had also shifted much in the city since the commencement of the troubles. The great commercial orders for the foreign markets, which used to render the inferior citizens in a great measure dependant on the capital wholesale dealers, and long-established mercantile houses, were ei-
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ther now no more, or they were come into the possession of the contractors for carrying on the war, or centred in the monopoly lately set up under colour of licences. Thus, all business being in the hands of people necessarily devoted to government, the elections went of course that way; and though the acclamations of the electors at all times, and the show of hands, generally announced a great majority in favour of the popular candidates, yet when it came to that serious point where the elector's vote was to be recorded, and to rise in judgment against him, if it went contrary to the will of his employer, it was not so much to be depended upon as in former times, when the employment of tradesmen was more at large.

The more to confirm and secure their power, a numerous society was formed, under the influence of the court party, by themselves called The Associated Livery, but by others, The White Hart Association, from the tavern where the principal leaders held their great meetings, and which was generally considered as the head quarters of the party. This society soon became extremely powerful, notwithstanding the daily reproaches of the other members of the livery, who stigmatized those deserters as betrayers of the rights of the city, and of that independence which they had sworn to maintain to the utmost. For some time, therefore, they had taken an avowed and active part in the city elections. By advertising in the public papers those candidates whom they determined to support, such notices became mandates in effect to that great part of the livery who were in some degree within the reach or influence of their leaders, or who, from moderation of temper, prudence, or timidity, did not chuse to expose themselves to the enmity of so numerous and powerful a party: And such a compact collective body acting under order, in strict union and concert, and enabled to bear any expense by a large common stock-purse, proved more than a balance to the popular societies, which, from their disunion and other causes, daily wasted away, and at length seem to have quite expired. The chief magistrate of the city also belonged to this society, and was closely connected in dealing with government. Notwithstanding these favour-

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able circumstances, however, the ministry found themselves at last disappointed. At a public meeting called for the purpose, they were deserted by most of those who had hitherto implicitly obeyed their mandates with regard to city elections; and such was the unpromising appearance in general, that the leaders did not think proper to propose the question at all; so that the assembly broke up without entering upon any business whatever.

This disappointment did not damp the spirit of the lord mayor, and others of the court party, who exerted themselves to the utmost, in order to favour the wishes of ministry. They were at last, however, finally defeated, and the motion thrown out in a common council called on the occasion. The disappointed party said, that the deficiency of loyalty in the corporation should not damp its spirit in individuals. A subscription was accordingly opened, and a committee appointed at the London tavern to conduct the business, where 20,000*l.* was actually subscribed.

A similar attempt was made in Bristol, which also failed with regard to the corporation; but a large subscription, rivalling that of London, soon made its appearance. Neither of these, however, were productive of any considerable effect. Nor did the scheme meet with greater encouragement in many of the English counties; though in Scotland it was adopted with great avidity. The cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow subscribed liberally; raised a regiment of 1000 men each; and, like Manchester and Liverpool, were indulged with the nomination of officers. Considerable numbers of troops were also raised by individuals, and about a regiment raised in Wales; but the battalions, excepting those of Manchester and Liverpool, were all formed in Scotland.

The ministerial scheme of raising forces in this manner having succeeded so happily, afforded no inconsiderable argument of the general approbation of their measures; and they were now enabled, not only to meet parliament, after the recess, with confidence, but also to brave all inquiries which might be made into their past conduct, as well as into the state and condition of the nation.

The first business entered into by opposition was an inquiry into the measure of raising the new levies. An address was moved for, "That an account of the number of troops ordered to be raised, during the late adjournment, with a specification of the different corps, the names of the officers appointed to command them, and likewise of all the officers appointed to serve in each rank in the different corps, with the time of their former service and rank in the army, should be laid before them." This being readily agreed to, the minister took the opportunity of congratulating himself on what had happened. A subscription, he said, had lately been set on foot in several parts of the kingdom, which not only gave the most valid indications of patriotic zeal, but afforded the most flattering testimony of the public satisfaction in the conduct of administration.

This self-approbation did not at all conciliate the members in opposition. They charged the measure with being unconstitutional, illegal, extravagant, and dangerous. They asked, why parliament was not informed of the design? Why so long a recess was made at the time that so important and dangerous a measure as the raising an army within the kingdom was in contemplation? If the raising of one regiment in so unconstitutional a manner was to be maintained or justified, the same arguments would reach to 20, 50, or any given number; and if this doctrine was admitted, what protection could the laws or constitution give against arbitrary power?

The minister defended the measure on the ground of necessity, and maintained, that it was in itself perfectly innocent both with respect to the constitution and the law. The necessity, he presumed, was obvious; and, with regard to his not advising parliament of the measure, he observed, that it was not in the power of administration, before the recess, to bring the matter as a measure before parliament; because, in fact, excepting in very few instances, they were totally ignorant of what afterwards happened. And, as to the charges thrown out with so much acrimony, of illegality, breach of constitution, and contempt of parliament, he denied that they were in any

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degree founded. The legality, he said, was founded in precedent drawn from the time of the rebellion in 1745, and the beginning of the late war. In the former, several of the nobility and gentry raised regiments at their own expense; and subscriptions were not only opened and received, but persons went about from house to house, to collect money for the common defence. In the latter instance, ten new regiments had been raised by the crown; and the city of London had subscribed a large sum of money (which example was followed by other corporations and public bodies) for the raising of men for the public service. The first of these measures, they said, having been cavilled at by the disaffected of that time, as well as by some others, the late lord chancellor Hardwicke, whose principles with respect to the constitution, and to the rights and security of the subject, can admit of no doubt, publicly undertook its support and defence; and, while he asserted its propriety and legality, reprehended, in very severe terms, the censure thrown upon it. With respect to the second, so far from its being objected to, Mr. secretary Pitt wrote a letter to the corporation, full of acknowledgments, in the king's name, for their zeal and immediate service, as well as the laudable example they had set to others.

To this a long and spirited reply was made by the members in opposition, in which they strenuously contended, that those precedents which had been quoted did not in any degree come up to the question, or in any wise justify the present measure. The question, however, being at last put, whether 286,632l. 14s. 6d. should be granted for clothing the new troops, it was carried, upon a division, by 223 to 130.

As the time of inquiring into the state of the nation approached, several motions were made by the leaders of opposition, for the various species of information which they deemed necessary for elucidating the different subjects proposed as objects of discussion, and the support of those points they wished to establish. In some instances these motions were complied with, in others rejected. The general reason given by ministers for their refusal was the impro-

impropriety of disclosing state secrets, which never failed to be given when they either would not, or could not produce what was desired. They also said, that when gentlemen moved for papers, they frequently did not see or consider the extent to which their motions went. Contracts for clothing, victualling, and supplying the troops with rum, porter, and the various other articles necessary for the service, together with the treasury minutes, relative to all such contracts for four entire years, had been demanded. These were so exceedingly voluminous, that it required more time than the ministers themselves could have apprehended to obey the order of parliament. It might happen, too, in some cases, that the accounts had not been received; in others, perhaps, the original motions had not been directed to the proper offices; but these matters lay not with them. The former complaints of opposition, however, still continued; nor was it ever owned that the cause was entirely removed. Some accounts, they said, were deficient, others imperfect, and some totally omitted. Responsibility was shifted one moment, and official knowledge the next. Those, who, under the immediate authority of parliament, endeavoured to procure information for its guidance in matters of the greatest national importance, were wearied and baffled by chicane or evasion. It was not this, or it was not that person's business to give information, or the papers did not belong to this or that office, was all the satisfaction they ever received: And thus they were left to grope their way through a chaos of uncertainty and error.

Under all these disadvantages, the inquiry was begun by Mr. Fox, February 2, 1778. He entered at great length into a retrospective view of the whole conduct of the present administration respecting America, including as well the measures which led to the war, as the manner in which it had been prosecuted. He laid it down as an incontrovertible axiom, "that it was impossible for any country to fall within so few years from the high pitch of power and glory which we had done, without some radical error in its government. The present calamitous state of the nation was evidently to be traced to the blind obstinacy

nacy and wretched incapacity of its ministers, who would not listen to any overtures of conciliation, who could not carry into effect any plan of coercion. He made it appear from the papers before them, that at a time when we were in immediate danger of encountering the whole force of the house of Bourbon, united with that of America, the army in England and Ireland had been so reduced and weakened by the continual drain of the war, as to fall several thousand men short of the usual peace establishment. To abandon the ministerial plan of conquest was therefore a matter not of choice but necessity, when the force employed in America was so much diminished in consequence of the late disastrous events, and when it was incapable of being reinforced without leaving this country absolutely without defence. Upon this ground Mr. Fox moved as a resolution of the committee, "that an address should be presented to his majesty, beseeching his majesty that no part of the national force in these kingdoms, or in the garrisons of Gibraltar or Minorca, should be sent to America." To the infinite surprise of the public, no debate ensued; nor was any reply whatever made to this speech; but the question being called for, the motion was rejected on a division by a majority of 259 to 165.

In a few days after this Mr. Burke moved for the papers relative to the employment of the Indians. "The Indian mode of making war, he said, was so horrible as not only to shock the manners of all civilized nations, but far to exceed the ferocity of any other barbarians recorded in ancient or modern history. Their chief glory consisted in the number of human scalps which they acquired, and their chief delight was in the practice of torturing, mangling, roasting, and devouring their captives. The attempt to prevent these enormities was wholly unavailing. Those Indians employed both by general Burgoyne and colonel St. Leger had indiscriminately murdered men, women, and children—friends and foes—armed or unarmed, without distinction. The horrid murder of Miss Macrae on the morning of her intended marriage with an officer of the king's troops, and the massacre in cold blood of the prisoners taken in an engagement near Fort Stanwix, were particu-

particularly instanced as proofs of the absolute impracticability of restraining the barbarities of these savages." After a long debate the motion was negatived by a majority of 223 to 137.

Mr. Fox, soon after this motion, stated in the committee of inquiry from the papers, imperfect as they were, which had been laid before the house, that we had lost twenty thousand men, and expended twenty-five millions of money, to no purpose. On this he founded a motion:—"Resolved, that it appears to this committee, that in the year 1774, the whole of the land forces serving in North America, did not amount to more than 6864 effective men, officers included." This Mr. Fox considered as an incontrovertible fact, proved by the lists of men sent over, and the last returns of the forces now remaining in that continent.—After a long debate, however, this motion was also rejected. In the house of lords similar questions were agitated, and with equal warmth. The duke of Richmond was the principal speaker; but his motions were attended with no better success than those in the house of commons. Several eminent merchants, however, were brought by that nobleman to be examined at the bar, from whose evidence it appeared, that the losses by the American war had been immense, the captures alone amounting to no less than 2,600,000*l*. To lessen or set aside the effects of this inquiry, lord Sandwich brought other evidence to show how far these losses had been compensated by prizes taken from the rebellious colonies, or by the opening of new branches of commerce.

The duke of Richmond, after recapitulating his evidences, moved the following resolutions: "That in the course of trade a very considerable balance was always due from the merchants in North America to those of Great Britain, towards the discharge of which, remittances were made in goods to a great amount, since the commencement of the present troubles, and whilst the trade between this kingdom and the colonies was suffered to remain open: That since the passing of the several acts for prohibiting the fisheries of the colonies in North America,
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their mutual intercourse with each other, all trade and commerce between them and this kingdom, and for making prize of their ships and distributing their value, the number of vessels taken from Great Britain by American ships of war and privateers amounted to 733. Of that number 47 had been released, and 127 retaken; but that the loss on the latter, for salvage, interest on the value of the cargo, and loss of market, must have been very considerable. The loss of the remaining 559 vessels which had been carried into port, amounted, by the report of the merchants, to at least 2,600,000*l.*---That of 200 ships annually employed in the African trade before the commencement of the present civil war, whose value upon an average was about 9000*l.* each, there were not now 40 employed in that trade, whereby there was a clear diminution in this branch of commerce of 160 ships, amounting to a loss of 1,440,000*l.* *per annum*—That the price of insurance to the West Indies and North America was increased from two, and two and an half, to 5 *per cent.* with convoy; but, without convoy, and unarmed, it had been made at 15 *per cent.* though generally ships in such circumstances could not be insured at all—That the price of seamen's wages had arisen from 3*s.* to 3*l.* 5*s.* *per month*; the price of pot-ash from 8*s.* to 3*l.* 10*s.* *per hundred weight*; the price of spermaceti oil was increased from 35*l.* to 70*l.* *per ton*; of tar from 7*s.* and 8*s.* to 30*s.* *per barrel*; the price of sugars, and all commodities from the West Indies, and divers sorts of naval stores from North America, was greatly enhanced---That the present diminution of the African trade, the interruption of the American trade to the West Indies, and the captures made of the West India ships, have greatly distressed the British colonies in the West Indies---That the number of American privateers, of which authentic accounts had been received, amounted to 173; that they carried 2256 guns, and at least 13,840 seamen, reckoning 80 men in each ship; and that of these privateers 34 had been taken, which carried 3217 men, being more than 97 to each vessel." It is almost needless to add that these resolutions were rejected.

On the 17th of February, having given previous notice of his intention, the minister introduced to the house of commons some *new* propositions tending to a reconciliation with America. He said, that his wishes for peace had been frustrated by a variety of misfortunes; that American taxation, he had always believed, could never produce a beneficial revenue, but he had found them taxed when he came into office. He never could have conceived, that the agreement with the East India company would have proved so unfortunate; that the coercive acts had produced effects which he could not foresee; that his former conciliatory proposition was so disfigured by obscure discussions as to lose its effect in America; that the issue of the war had been contrary to all expectation, considering the conduct of the commanders and the goodness of the troops. His present motions were two, for “a bill for declaring the intentions of the parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his majesty’s colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America:” And, “a bill to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of North America.” His lordship added, that it was intended to appoint five commissioners, and enable them to treat with the congress, *as if it were a legal body*, to treat with any of the provincial assemblies upon their present constitution, or with any individuals in military or civil command, general Washington, or any other officer. They were to have a power of suspending hostilities, granting pardons, and restoring all or any of the colonies to the form of their ancient constitution; that should the Americans now claim independence, they should not be required to renounce it, until the treaty had been ratified by the parliament of Great Britain; and if the Americans refused a moderate contribution towards the common defence of the empire when reunited, they should be warned, that, in that case, they were not to look for support from it. The minister declared farther, that all these concessions were consistent

with his former opinions, and if the question was asked, why they had not been sooner proposed, he should reply, that the moment of victory, for which he had anxiously waited, seemed to him the only proper season for offering terms of concession. But though the result of the war had proved unfavourable, he would no longer delay the desirable and necessary work of reconciliation.

“Never, perhaps,” observes a modern writer*, “was the inexpressible absurdity of the ministerial system more apparent than at the present moment. The powers now granted were precisely of the nature of those with which it was the object of the motion made by the duke of Grafton, in the spring of 1775, to invest the former commissioners, lord and general Howe. Had that motion been adopted, the contest might unquestionably have been, with the utmost facility, amicably and honourably terminated; but the general aspect of affairs since that period was totally changed. From the declaration of independency which America had once made, she could never be expected to recede. The strength of Great Britain had been tried, and found unequal to the contest. The measures adopted by the English government, particularly in the employment of German mercenaries and Indian savages, had inflamed the resentment of America to the highest pitch. Her recent successes had rendered it to the last degree improbable that she would ever again consent to recognise, in any shape, or under any modification, the authority of Britain. A treaty of peace, commerce, and alliance, was all that a just and sound policy, in the present circumstances, could hope, or would endeavour to accomplish.”

The speech of the minister on this occasion was by no means received with the usual applause. It excited either terror or astonishment in the whole assembly. His declarations, that he had now only delivered what had all along been the genuine sentiments of his heart, were not believed; and it was universally supposed, that something very extraordinary and alarming had happened, which

* Mr. Belsham : *Memoirs of the Reign of George III.* vol. ii.

now produced such an unexpected and sudden alteration. The opposition he now encountered was from his own friends, most of whom were highly offended at one of his expressions, *viz.* that "if parliament had been deceived, they had deceived themselves." Some of the country gentlemen asserted, with great indignation, that they had been grossly deceived and misled by the uniform language of government for three years past; and one gentleman went so far as to declare, that he should feel for the humiliating blush of his sovereign, while he signed the bills. On the declaration of a great law-officer, that a security for the congress debts, and a re-establishment of the credit of their paper currency, would be one of the principal objects of the commission, and one of the principal inducements held out to that body to return to its allegiance, another gentleman affirmed, that he would rather consent to give currency to forged India bonds, and counterfeit bank notes, than to paper which had been fabricated to carry on rebellion against the king and parliament of Great Britain. The general voice of the country gentlemen indeed was, that as taxation was now given up, peace ought to be procured on any terms, and in the speediest manner.

The members in opposition, properly so called, though they approved of the conciliatory bills, showed no mercy to the conduct of the minister. He was reprobated indeed by both parties in such a manner, as must have made his situation extremely disagreeable. By his own he was asked, as taxation had not been his object, what were the real motives which had induced him to begin the war? Had he sported away 30,000 lives, and thirty millions of money, and, in that amusement, put not only the unity, but the existence of the empire, to the utmost hazard, in order to try the spirit of the Americans, and to discover how they would behave in defence of every thing that was dear to them?

Mr. Fox in a fine strain of irony complimented the minister on his conversion, and congratulated his own party on the acquisition of such a potent auxiliary. He was glad to find that his own propositions did not materially

differ from those made by Mr. Burke three years before. He reminded the house, that though they were then rejected, a war of three years had convinced him that they were really useful. Nay, so perfect a proselyte was the minister become, that the very same arguments, which had at that time been ineffectually used by Mr. Burke, were now adopted, almost in the same words, by his lordship. He said, however, that as the present propositions were much more clear and satisfactory than the former, they should receive his support, and he supposed they would do the same from all his friends on that side of the house. Undoubtedly, said he, they would have given full satisfaction, and have prevented all the loss, ruin, and calamity, which England and America had since experienced, had they been offered in time. But if the concession should be found ample enough, and then come too late, what punishment would be sufficient for those ministers who adjourned parliament, in order to make propositions of concession, and then neglected to do it, until France had concluded a treaty with the independent states of America, acknowledging them as such? He did not speak from surmise: He had it from authority which he could not question, that the treaty he mentioned had been signed in Paris ten days before, counting from that instant. He therefore wished that ministry would give the house satisfaction on that very interesting point; for he feared that it would be found, that their present apparently pacific and equitable disposition, with that proposition which seemed to be the result of it, owed their existence to the previous knowledge of this treaty, which must, from its nature, render that proposition as useless to the peace, as it was humiliating to the dignity of Britain.

The intimation of Mr. Fox, though faintly controverted by the minister, and treated as only matter of rumour, was too well founded; and the doubts of the ministry completely removed in a few days by a formal notification of the fact from the French ambassador. As the alliance between France and the united states of America is one of the most important transactions in the modern history of Britain, it will not be improper to take a
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retrospective view of the progress of the negotiation on both sides, and of the circumstances which immediately contributed to its completion. The American colonists having taken up arms, uninfluenced by the enemies of Great Britain, conducted their opposition for several months after they had raised troops, and emitted money, without any reference to foreign powers. They knew it to be the interest of Europe to promote a separation between Great Britain and her colonies; but as they began the contest with no other view than to obtain a redress of grievances, they neither wished in the first period of their opposition to involve Great Britain in a war, nor to procure aid to themselves by paying court to her enemies. The policy of Great Britain in attempting to deprive the Americans of arms, was the first event which made it necessary for them to seek foreign connexions. At the time she was urging military preparations to compel their submission, she forbade the exportation of arms, and solicited the commercial powers of Europe to co-operate with her, by adopting a similar prohibition. To frustrate the views of Great Britain, congress, besides recommending the domestic manufacture of the materials for military stores, appointed a secret committee with powers to procure on their account arms and ammunition, and also employed agents in foreign countries for the same purpose. The evident advantages which France might derive from the continuance of the dispute, and the countenance which individuals of that country daily gave to the Americans, encouraged congress to send a political and commercial agent to that kingdom, with instructions to solicit its friendship, and to procure military stores. Silas Deane, being chosen for this purpose, sailed for France early in 1776, and was soon after his arrival at Paris instructed to sound the count de Vergennes, the French minister for foreign affairs, on the subject of the American controversy. As the public mind, for reasons which have been mentioned, closed against Great Britain, it opened towards other nations.

On the 11th of June 1776, congress appointed a committee to prepare a plan of a treaty to be proposed to foreign

reign powers. The discussion of this novel subject engaged their attention till the latter end of September. While congress was deliberating on this subject, Mr. Deane was soliciting a supply of arms, ammunition, and soldiers' clothing, for their service. A sufficiency for lading three vessels was soon procured. What agency the government of France had in furnishing these supplies, or whether they were sold or given as presents, are questions which have been often asked, but not satisfactorily answered; for the business was so conducted, that the transaction might be made to assume a variety of complexions, as circumstances might render expedient.

It was most evidently the interest of France to encourage the Americans in their opposition to Great Britain, and it was true policy to do this by degrees, and in a private manner, lest Great Britain might take the alarm. Individuals are sometimes influenced by considerations of friendship and generosity, but interest is the pole-star by which nations are universally governed. It is certain that Great Britain was amused with declarations of the most pacific dispositions on the part of France, at the time the Americans were liberally supplied with the means of defence; and it is equally certain, that this was the true line of policy for promoting that dismemberment of the British empire which France had an interest in accomplishing.

Congress knew, that a diminution of the overgrown power of Britain could not but be desirable to France. Sore with the loss of her possessions on the continent of North America, by the peace of Paris in the year 1763, and also by the capture of many thousands of her sailors in 1755, antecedent to a declaration of war, she must have been something more than human, not to have rejoiced at an opportunity of depressing an ancient and formidable rival. Besides the increasing naval superiority of Great Britain, her vast resources, not only in her ancient dominions, but in colonies growing daily in numbers and wealth, added to the haughtiness of her flag, made her the object both of terror and envy. It was the interest of congress to apply to the court of France,
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and it was the interest of France to listen to their application.

Congress having agreed on the plan of the treaty, which they intended to propose to his most christian majesty, proceeded to elect commissioners to solicit its acceptance. Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Thomas Jefferson, were chosen. The latter declining to serve, Arthur Lee, who was then in London, and had been very serviceable to his country in a variety of ways, was elected in his room. It was resolved, that no member should be at liberty to divulge any thing more of these transactions than "that congress had taken such steps as they judged necessary for obtaining foreign alliances." The secret committee were directed to make an effectual lodgment in France of ten thousand pounds sterling, subject to the order of these commissioners. Dr. Franklin, who was employed as agent in the business, and afterwards as minister plenipotentiary at the court of France, was in possession of a greater proportion of foreign fame than any other native of America. By the force of superior abilities, and with but few advantages in early life, he had attained the highest eminence among men of learning, and in many instances extended the empire of science. His genius was vast and comprehensive, and with equal ease investigated the mysteries of philosophy and the labyrinths of politics. His fame as a philosopher had reached as far as human knowledge is polished or refined. His philanthropy knew no bounds. The prosperity and happiness of the human race were objects which at all times had attracted his attention. Disgusted with Great Britain, and glowing with the most ardent love for the liberties of his oppressed native country, he left London, where he had resided some years in the character of agent for several of the colonies, and early in 1775 returned to Philadelphia, and immediately afterwards was elected by the legislature of Pennsylvania, to share in the opposition to Great Britain as a member of congress. Shortly after his appointment to solicit the interests of congress in France*, he sailed for that country; he was no sooner

* October 27.

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landed * than universally careſſed. His fame had ſmoothed the way for his reception in a public character. Doctor Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, having rendezvoused at Paris, ſoon after † opened their buſineſs in a private audience with the count de Vergennes.

Truly difficult was the line of conduct which the real intereſt of the nation required of the miniſters of his moſt chriſtian majeſty. An haughty reſerve would have diſcouraged the Americans; an open reception, or even a legal countenance of their deputies, might have alarmed the rulers of Great Britain, and diſpoſed them to a compromise with their colonies, or have brought on an immediate rupture between France and England. A middle line, as preferable to either, was therefore purſued. Whiſt the French government prohibited, threatened, and even puniſhed the Americans; private perſons encouraged, ſupplied, and ſupported them. Prudence as well as policy required that France ſhould not be over-haſty in openly eſpouſing their cauſe. She was by no means fit for war. From the ſtate of her navy, and the condition of her foreign trade, ſhe was vulnerable on every ſide; her trading people dreaded a war with Great Britain, as they would thereby be expoſed to great loſſes. Theſe conſiderations were ſtrengthened from another quarter; the peace of Europe was ſuppoſed to be unſtable, from a prevailing belief that the ſpeedy death of the elector of Bavaria was an event extremely probable. But the principal reaſon which induced a delay, was an opinion that the diſpute between the mother-country and the colonies would be compromised. Within the thirteen years immediately preceding, twice had the conteſted claims of the two countries brought matters to the verge of extremity. Twice had the guardian genius of both interpoſed, and reunited them in the bonds of love and affection. It was feared by the ſagacious miniſtry of France, that the preſent rupture would terminate in the ſame manner. Theſe wiſe obſervers of human nature apprehended, that their too early interference would favour a reconciliation, and that the reconciled parties would direct their united

* December 13. † December 28.

force against the French, as the disturbers of their domestic tranquillity. It had not yet entered into the hearts of the French nation, that it was possible for the British American colonists to join with their ancient enemies against their late friends.

At this period congress did not so much expect any direct aid from France, as the indirect relief of a war between that country and Great Britain. To subserve this design, they resolved, that "their commissioners at the court of France should be furnished with warrants and commissions, and authorised to arm and fit for war in the French ports any number of vessels (not exceeding six) at the expense of the United States, to war upon British property, provided they were satisfied this measure would not be disagreeable to the court of France." This resolution was carried into effect, and in the year 1777 marine officers, with American commissions, both sailed out of French ports, and carried prizes of British property into them. They could not procure their condemnation in the courts of France, nor sell them publicly, but they nevertheless found ways and means to turn them into money. The commanders of these vessels were sometimes punished by authority to please the English, but they were oftener caressed from another quarter to please the Americans.

While private agents on the part of the United States were endeavouring to embroil the two nations, the American commissioners were urging the ministers of his most christian majesty to accept the treaty proposed by congress. They received assurances of the good wishes of the court of France, but were from time to time informed, that the important transaction required farther consideration, and were enjoined to observe the most profound secrecy. Matters remained in this fluctuating state from December 1776 till December 1777. Private encouragement and public discountenance was alternated, but both varied according to the complexion of news from America. The defeat on Long Island, the reduction of New-York, and the train of disastrous events in 1776, which have already been mentioned, sunk the credit of the American

ricans very low, and abated much of the national ardour for their support. Their subsequent successes at Trenton and Princeton effaced these impressions, and rekindled active zeal in their behalf. The capture of Burgoyne fixed these wavering politics. The success of the Americans in the campaign of 1777, placed them on high ground; their enmity had proved itself formidable to Britain, and their friendship became desirable to France. Having helped themselves, they found it less difficult to obtain help from others. The same interest which hitherto had directed the court of France to a temporising policy, now required decisive conduct. Previous delay had favoured the dismemberment of the empire, but farther procrastination bid fair to promote, at least such a foederal alliance of the disjointed parts of the British empire as would be no less hostile to the interests of France than a reunion of its several parts. The news of the capitulation of Saratoga reached France very early in December 1777. The American deputies took that opportunity to press for an acceptance of the treaty, which had been under consideration for the preceding twelve months. The capture of Burgoyne's army convinced the French, that the opposition of the Americans to Great Britain was not the work of a few men who had got power in their hands, but of the great body of the people, and was likely to be finally successful. It was therefore determined to take them by the hand, and publicly to espouse their cause. The commissioners of congress, on the 16th of December 1777, were informed, by Mr. Gerard, one of the secretaries of the king's council of state, "that it was decided to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and to make a treaty with them: That in the treaty no advantage would be taken of their situation to obtain terms, which otherwise it would not be convenient for them to agree to: That his most christian majesty desired the treaty once made should be durable, and their amity to subsist for ever, which could not be expected, if each nation did not find an interest in its continuance, as well as in its commencement. It was therefore intended that the terms of the treaty should be such as the new-formed states would be

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willing to agree to, if they had been long since established, and in the fulness of strength and power, and such as they should approve of when that time should come. That his most christian majesty was fixed in his determination not only to acknowledge, but to support their independence: That in doing this he might probably soon be engaged in a war, yet he should not expect any compensation from the United States on that account, nor was it pretended that he acted wholly for their sakes, since, besides his real good-will to them, it was manifestly the interest of France that the power of England should be diminished by the separation of the colonies from its government. The only condition he should require and rely on would be, that the United States, in no peace to be made, should give up their independence, and return to the obedience of the British government." At any time previous to the 16th of December 1777, when Mr. Gerard made the foregoing declaration, it was in the power of the British ministry to have ended the American war, and to have established an alliance with the United States, that would have been of great service to both; but from the same haughtiness which for some time had predominated in their councils, and blinded them to their interests, they neglected to improve the favourable opportunity.

Conformably to the preliminaries proposed by Mr. Gerard, his most christian majesty Lewis the Sixteenth, on the 6th of February 1778, entered into treaties of amity and commerce, and of alliance, with the United States, on the footing of the most perfect equality and reciprocity.

The terms of reciprocity on which France contracted with the United States were no less recommended by wise policy than dictated by true magnanimity. As there was nothing exclusive in the treaty, an opening was left for Great Britain to close the war when she pleased, with all the advantages of future commerce that France had stipulated for herself. This judicious measure made the establishment of American independence the common cause of all the commercial powers of Europe; for the question then was, whether the trade of the United States should

should by the subversion of their independence be again monopolised by Great Britain, or by the establishment of it laid open on equal terms to all the world.

In national events the public attention is generally fixed on the movements of armies and fleets. Mankind never fail to do homage to the able general and expert admiral. To this they are justly entitled; but as great a tribute is due to the statesman who, from a more elevated station, determines on measures in which the general safety and welfare of empires are involved; or who, foreseeing the natural consequences of things, endeavours by wise and well-planned arrangements to avert an impending evil: But this is a panegyric which cannot apply to the short-sighted and ill-judging ministry, which was composed of North, Sandwich, Jenkinson, Stormont, &c. While the ministers of his Britannic majesty, therefore, were pleasing themselves with the flattering idea of permanent peace in Europe, they were not less surprised than provoked by hearing of the alliance which had taken place between his most christian majesty and the United States; this event, though often foretold, was disbelieved. The zeal of the British ministry to reduce the colonies to submission blinded them to danger from every other quarter. Forgetting that interest governs public bodies perhaps more than private persons, they supposed that feebleness would outweigh its all-commanding influence. Intent on carrying into execution the object of their wishes, they fancied that because France and Spain had colonies of their own, they would refrain from aiding or abetting the revolted British colonists, from the fear of establishing a precedent, which at a future day might operate against themselves. Transported with indignation against their late fellow-subjects, they were so infatuated with the American war, as to suppose that trifling evils, both distant and uncertain, would induce the court of France to neglect an opportunity of securing great and immediate advantages.

Previous, however, to announcing the declaration of the French ambassador to the British parliament, the minister's conciliatory bills passed both houses, and the
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commissioners were appointed, *viz.* the earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, governor Johnstone, lately become a proselyte to the court, and the commanders in chief by sea and land.

The impression which was made on all parties by the ill success of the war, and the retraction of the ministers, was now become very apparent. So great indeed was the eagerness of all parties to obtain peace and reconciliation with the Americans, that some, even of the gentlemen in office, wished to extend the repeal to all obnoxious acts relative to America: And the minister himself, in opening his propositions, had declared his willingness to give up all these laws from the 10th of February 1763. The only difference of opinion now upon the subject was concerning the time of carrying it into execution; that is, whether it should be preliminary to, or a consequence of the treaty? The latter at length prevailed, and a motion for the repeal of the Massachusetts charter act was rejected by 181 to 108. It was afterwards agreed, however, to repeal the tea-act; and Mr. Burke having, the same day, moved, that the provisions of the bill should be extended to the West Indies, his motion was likewise agreed to.

In the debates on the ways and means, some motions were made which exceedingly alarmed administration, and even threatened the total downfall of their power. In order to raise the interest of six millions, which the minister found it necessary to borrow, he proposed a new tax on houses and wines. This occasioned some debate in the committee of supply on the house-tax, which was considered by the members in opposition as not only a land-tax in effect, but as being also exceedingly disproportionate and oppressive, and falling particularly heavy upon the inhabitants of London and Westminster, who already paid so vast a proportion to the land-tax, and whose burdens, including poors rate, window-tax, watch, lights, pavement, and other imposts, amounted in several parishes to more than eight shillings in the pound: Whilst, to render it still more grievous, it frequently happened

that those who were the least able to bear them, had the heaviest burdens imposed upon them.

Such, however, was the present temper of the house, that though the motions were at last agreed to, another was made by a gentleman in office, and closely connected with one branch of the ministry, "That the better to enable his majesty to vindicate the honour and dignity of his crown and dominions, in the present exigency of affairs, there be granted one fourth part of the nett annual income upon the salaries, fees, and perquisites of all offices under the crown, excepting only those held by the speaker of the house of commons, the chancellor, or commissioners of the great seal, the judges, ministers to foreign parts, commissioners, officers in the army and navy, and all those which do not produce a clear yearly income of 200l. to their possessors; the tax also extending to all annuities, pensions, stipends, or other yearly sums issuing out of the exchequer, or any branch of the revenue; to commence from the 25th of March 1778, and to continue for one year, and during the American war.

This motion, to the astonishment and terror of administration, was carried in the committee by 100 to 82; and though the ministry summoned all their forces against the ensuing day, in order to oppose it on receiving the report from the committee, it was rejected only by a majority of six; nor would even this have been the case, had the members in opposition been at all unanimous in its support.

A motion made by Mr. Fox concerning the state of the navy, proved likewise very troublesome; but was at length evaded by the previous question, without a division. That which gave most offence, however, was one made by Mr. James Luttrell, for an address to his majesty, "that he would be graciously pleased to instruct the commissioners, whom he might name for the purposes of carrying into execution the American bills, that in case they should find that the continuance in office of any public minister, or ministers, of the crown of Great Britain,

Britain; should be found to impress such jealousies or mistrust on one or more of the revolted colonies, as might tend materially to obstruct the happy work of peace and sincere reconciliation between Great Britain and her colonies, that the said commissioners might be enabled to promise, in his majesty's name, the earliest removal of such minister or ministers from his councils."—This motion, by many, even of the members in opposition, thought far too degrading and humiliating, was rejected by 150 to 55.

In the house of lords, administration had not been less vigorously attacked than in that of the commons. On the 16th of February, the earl of Thanet rose, and as he was then very much indisposed by a cold, could only inform the house, that he had in his hand a letter from general Gates, which he wished might be read. The letter was dated October 26, 1777. It in substance recommended the withdrawing of the fleet and army from America, the removal of the present ministry, and a commercial alliance, as the only means of recovering the friendship of the colonies.

On hearing the letter, it was moved by the duke of Richmond, that it should lie on the table. A considerable debate ensued, which terminated in the rejection of the duke's motion without a division; after which the committee of inquiry into the state of the nation was resumed. In this business also the duke of Richmond took a leading part, by observing, that he had several resolutions to propose, all of them tending to establish the state of the army, and the number of effective men serving in America in the different years of 1774, 1775, 1776, and 1777, with the services and events of each campaign, as they appeared from the papers which were referred to the consideration of the committee. Having then stated the necessity of the committee's coming to some decision upon the matters that were brought before them, as the name or pretence of an inquiry would otherwise be an absolute mockery, he moved his first resolution, *viz.* "That it appears to this committee, so far as they are informed from the returns referred to them, that the greatest

greatest number of regular land forces serving in North America in 1774, did not exceed 6884 men, including officers." The motion was opposed on the old grounds, namely, that it would be impolitic to expose the national weakness to the enemy; and the committee was dissolved, by the chairman's leaving the chair; after which all the duke of Richmond's resolutions were formally negatived, one by one, in the house.

The committee was resumed on the 19th of February, and another set of resolutions proposed by the duke of Richmond, relating to the expenses which the American war had already cost the nation. This, for the four last years, each of which he stated separately, he said, from what already appeared, amounted to the gross sum of 23,834,792l. But he also showed, from the example of the last war, as well as from various calculations, that there would still remain an expense which could not at present be ascertained, which, at the most moderate computation, would at least amount to nine millions more; so that the public expense attending the American contest, however speedily and happily it might now be brought to a conclusion, and independent of all other contingent losses, would, at the lowest calculation, amount to near thirty-three millions sterling.

The ministry did not pretend to controvert his calculations, but rejected his resolutions as highly inexpedient, unparliamentary, and incapable of answering any useful purpose. It was equally inexpedient and foolish to expose the national infirmities and weakness; and that, instead of promoting the purpose held out by the noble duke, the publishing of facts declarative of weakness, would produce a directly contrary effect, and render any plan of peace that could be proposed, infinitely more difficult and hazardous. That if they had foreseen the purposes to which it had been intended to direct the committee, they would have opposed its formation originally; they threw out some hints concerning its final dissolution, and concluded with moving, that the chairman should leave the chair.

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In his reply, the duke made many severe strictures on the conduct of administration; but they were attended with no better success now than on former occasions. The motion for the chairman's leaving the chair was carried by 66 to 28; after which the resolutions were all set aside by the previous question. His grace had now resigned his share of the inquiry to the duke of Bolton and earl of Bristol, having, he said, gone through those subjects with which he was most conversant. On the 25th of February, the former moved, that the surveyor of the navy should attend the house. This was opposed by the earl of Sandwich on the usual ground, of its being inexpedient and useless to give farther information on the subject. He had ever held but one opinion, he said, in that respect, which was, that it would be highly imprudent, even in its present very flourishing state, to divulge its condition; while, on the other hand, this flourishing state of the navy was utterly denied by the lords in opposition, and precedents brought for the inquiry. The motion was lost by a majority of 23 to 11.

The committee being resumed on the 2d of March, a new attack was made on the ministry by the same nobleman, on the ground of the mismanagements committed in the conduct of our naval affairs. He concluded a long speech on this subject with a series of resolutions, which, after a debate of sufficient length, were all rejected by a majority of 64 to 26.

On the 12th of March, the business was again opened by the earl of Effingham, who attacked the ministry on the profusion and want of economy prevailing in the various departments of state; to prove which, he had already procured an order for papers and the attendance of witnesses: But though administration did not pretend to controvert any of the estimates laid before them on this occasion, or question the authenticity of the facts, they concluded that it was necessary to oppose his resolutions, as well as every other on the subject. They were therefore all set aside by the previous question; upon which he proposed his concluding one, which was rejected by a majority of 35 to 17.

On the 17th of March, the following message was sent from his majesty to both houses of parliament: "His majesty having been informed, by order of the French king, that a treaty of amity and commerce has been signed between the court of France, and certain persons employed by his majesty's revolted subjects in North America, has judged it necessary to direct, that a copy of the declaration, delivered by the French ambassador to lord viscount Weymouth, be laid before the house of commons; and at the same time to acquaint them, that his majesty has thought proper, in consequence of this offensive communication on the part of France, to send orders to his ambassador to withdraw from that court. His majesty is persuaded, that the justice and good faith of his conduct towards foreign powers, and the sincerity of his wishes to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, will be acknowledged by all the world; and his majesty trusts, that he shall not stand responsible for the disturbance of that tranquillity, if he should find himself called upon to resent so unprovoked and so unjust an aggression on the honour of his crown, and the essential interests of his kingdoms, contrary to the most solemn assurances, subversive of the law of nations, and injurious to the rights of every sovereign power in Europe. His majesty, relying with the firmest confidence on the zealous and affectionate support of his faithful people, is determined to be prepared to exert, if it should become necessary, all the force and resources of his kingdoms; which he trusts will be adequate to repel every insult and attack, and to maintain and uphold the power and reputation of this country." The declaration mentioned in the above message, was dated 13th of March, and was as follows: "The under-signed ambassador of his most christian majesty has received express orders to make the following declaration to the court of London: The United States of North America, who were in full possession of independence, as pronounced by them on the 4th of July 1776, having proposed to the king to consolidate, by a formal convention, the connexion begun to be established between the two nations, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed a treaty of friendship and commerce, designed to

to serve as a foundation for their mutual good correspondence. His majesty, being determined to cultivate the good understanding subsisting between France and Great Britain, by every means compatible with his dignity, and the good of his subjects, thinks it necessary to make his proceeding known to the court of London, and to declare at the same time, that the contracting parties have paid great attention not to stipulate any exclusive advantages in favour of the French nation; and that the United States have reserved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever, upon the same footing of equality and reciprocity. In making this communication to the court of London, the king is firmly persuaded it will find new proofs of his majesty's *constant and sincere disposition for peace*; and that his Britannic majesty, animated by the same sentiments, will equally avoid *every thing that may alter their good harmony*; and that he will particularly take effectual measures to prevent the commerce between his majesty's subjects and the United States of North America, from being interrupted, and to cause all the usages received between commercial nations, to be, in this respect, observed; and all those rules which can be said to subsist between the two crowns of France and Great Britain. In this just confidence, the under-signed ambassador thinks it superfluous to acquaint the British minister, that, the king his master being determined to protect effectually the lawful commerce of his subjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag, his majesty has, in consequence, taken eventual methods, in concert with the United States of North America. Signed, Le M. de Noailles."

When the minister proposed an address in consequence of the message, a motion for an amendment was proposed by Mr. Baker, "praying his majesty to remove from his councils, those men who had manifested their want of capacity for carrying on a war of such importance, and in whose conduct the people placed no confidence." In defence of this amendment the ministry were severely treated on account of their repeated contempt of warnings held out by gentlemen in opposition, and it was said, that, had they been actually in the pay of France, their measures could

could not have militated more effectually for the advantage of that kingdom. The minister found himself not a little embarrassed by this attack; he could not say, that he had not been warned of the designs of France, nor, consistently with his own judgment, could he say he had never foreseen them himself; deprived, then, of these subterfuges, he expressed a firm resolution to continue in his place; the interest of the nation, his honour, required his continuance in office; the nation was not unable in any respect to cope with France; and as no gentlemen in the house could be still on the recollection of the insult offered to Great Britain, he trusted none would give resistance to an address which conveyed the just indignation of their minds. His lordship was of opinion, that America would not reap any great benefits from this new friend, and that France would in the end find her conduct attended with pernicious consequences to her own settlements in America; opposition had hinted at an immediate grant of independence to America as the only remaining expedient for dissolving the connexion between the colonies and France, but gentlemen ought not to have forgotten what a stain national honour would suffer from yielding the superiority of Britain to the insolence of France. The amendment being rejected, the original address, which in strong language approved of the sentiments of the message, was carried by 263 to 113.

A similar amendment was moved in the upper house by the duke of Manchester, which gave rise to a debate, chiefly interesting, as it brought into full view a very important difference of opinion subsisting between the lords in opposition, and which had on various occasions more covertly appeared, respecting the recognition of American independence. The marquis of Rockingham, and the whole Rockingham connexion, maintained without reserve the necessity of admitting the independence of America. "To attempt impossibilities," said they, "can only render our ruin inevitable; it is now in our power to recover what we have wantonly thrown away." On the other hand, the earls of Chatham, Temple, and Shelburne, and several other lords, who had unhappily estab-
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blished a distinct connexion, and were, throughout the long course of opposition to the present ministry, considered as a separate party, disclaimed every idea of relinquishing America, and deprecated its independence as the greatest of all political and national evils; and as including the utter degradation and final ruin of this country. The numbers on the division were, 100 lords who voted against the amendment, to 36 who supported it.

On the 7th of April, the duke of Richmond, at the close of the grand committee of inquiry, in which the upper house as well as that of the commons had been during the greater part of the session deeply engaged, moved an address to the king on the state of the nation. In his speech in support of this address, his grace declared in strong terms his conviction of the necessity of an immediate recognition of American independence. "The mischief," he said, "whatever might be the magnitude of it, was already done; America was already lost; her independence was as firmly established as that of other states. We had sufficient cause for regret, but our lamentation on the subject was of no more avail than it would be for the loss of Normandy or France."

On this occasion lord Chatham made his last and most affecting speech in the house of lords. He had long been a prey to those incurable disorders which brought him to his grave, and, at this time, was so exceedingly weak, that it was with the utmost difficulty he could be brought into the house. He delivered his speech, however, with extraordinary energy, and was heard with marked attention. "My lords," said he, "the times are alarming; the state is indeed in danger! and nothing but the poor condition of my health could so long have prevented me from attending to my duty in parliament at this very important period. But advice is now so necessary, that although sorely pressed by the hand of infirmity, I have made an effort, almost beyond my constitution, to come down to the house, to give my best advice to your lordships, and to express my indignation at the pusillanimous, the disgraceful idea of giving up the dependance of America on the sovereignty of Britain. Feeble as I am, I rejoice that I am yet alive, that the grave has not altogether closed on me,
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before I had an opportunity of giving my vote against so impolitic a measure, as the acknowledgment of the independence of America.

“ That our public affairs have, for some years past, been shamefully managed, I have frequently endeavoured to convince your lordships; and although I condemned the measures which have for some time been adopted by the majority of this house, yet I have been always against the independence of America, and never would support measures carried on in unrecanted error; but after a full recantation of these erroneous measures, and after a repeal of all the oppressive acts, it is the duty of every lover of his country, of every good citizen, to take care, while, on the one hand, he preserves the rights and privileges of the colonies, he does not, on the other, tarnish the lustre of his royal master's crown, nor sink the glory of the British nation. The tendency and plain language of the present motion is, to disgrace our sovereign, and to bring reproach upon us as a nation. It is, in a manner, ~~totally to annihilate~~ this once great empire. I chuse to speak out my sentiments, even though there may be danger in doing so. I always hated reserve; and never did approve of halting between two opinions, when there was no middle path to steer with certainty. The perfidy of France ought to rouse us, and make us strain every nerve, open every vein, to preserve our national character, and to preserve us from being scoffed and laughed at by foreigners. It is now absolutely necessary either to declare for peace or war; and when the former cannot be preserved with honour, the latter ought to be commenced without hesitation. What is life without reputation? And does that person deserve the name of a *man*, of an *Englishman*, who would not lay down his life to preserve the ancient dignity of his country? We may possibly fail in the attempt, but still let us make an effort, one united effort, to prevent such national disgrace. If we fall in the attempt, Europe will at least be convinced, that we had as much virtue left as to fall like men.

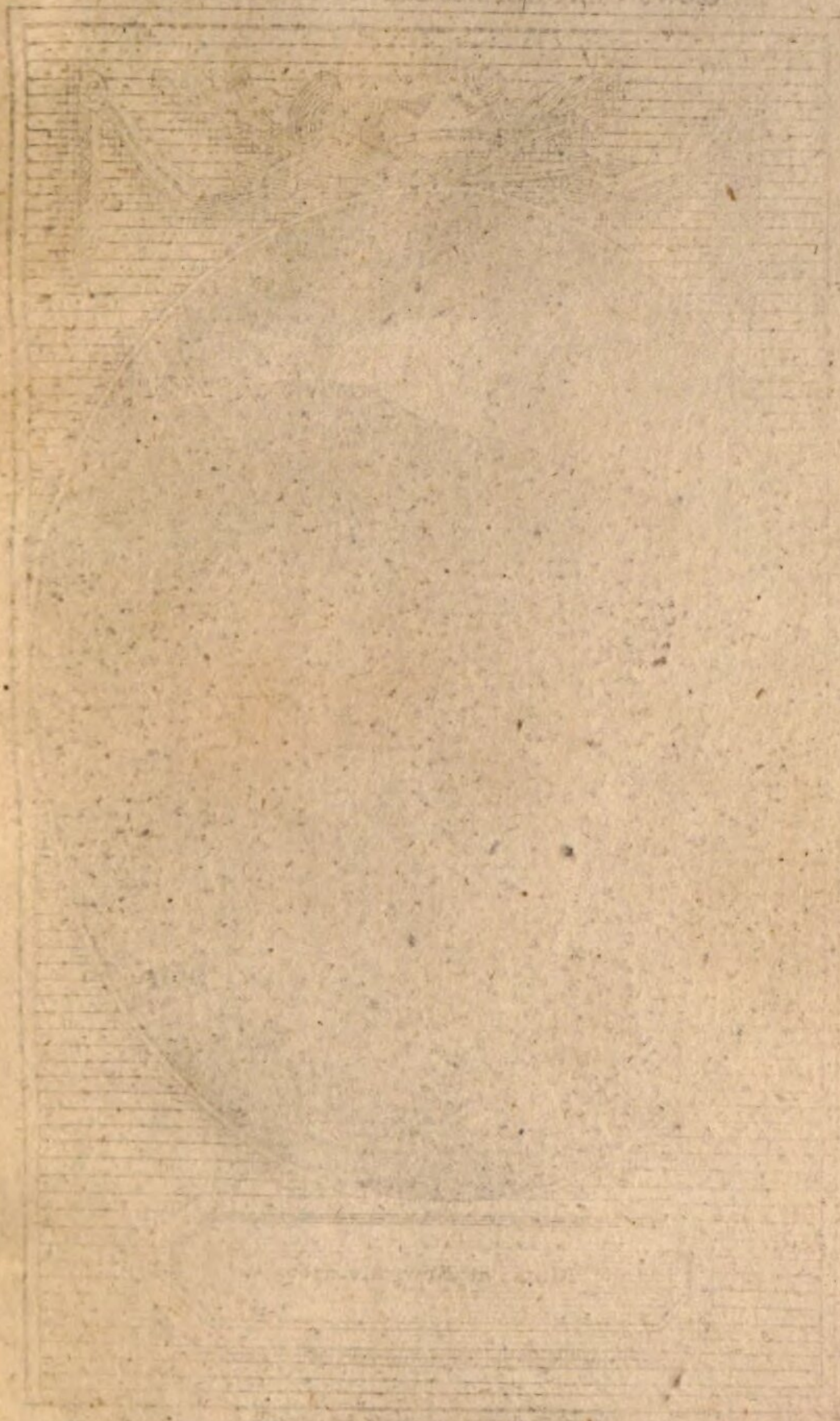
“ But, it is said we ought to make peace with America on any terms, and bring home our troops in order to protect

fect ourselves ; in short, that we should allow a foreign ambassador insolently to tell *us*, that *his* master had made a bargain for that commerce which was *our* natural right, and entered into a treaty with *our own* subjects, without so much as resenting it. Merciful God ! to what a low ebb must this once great empire be now reduced, when any of her senators (pointing to the duke of Richmond) can raise up his head, and with a grave face openly hold forth such timid, such dastardly counsels ? This never was the language of Britain, and never shall be mine. What ! can it be possible that we are the same people, who about sixteen years ago were the envy and admiration of all the world ? Is not this England ? Is not this the senate of Great Britain ? And can we forget that we are Englishmen ? Can we have forgotten that the nation has stood the Danish irruptions—the Scotch inroads—the Norman conquests—the Spanish armada—and the various efforts of the Bourbon compacts ? Of what then are we afraid ? Why are we blinded by despair ? Why should we sit down in ignominious tameness ; and, with a desponding face, say to France, ‘ Take from us what you will ; take all we have ; but do, pray, let us live and die in peace.’—Shame upon such disgraceful, such pitiful counsels ! My God ! how are we altered ! What can have occasioned so sudden an alteration ? Is the king still the same ? I hope he is ; but I fear there is something in the dark, something rotten near him ; something lurking between him and his people, which has thus dismembered his empire, and tarnished his glory. But I trust that we still have resources, still have courage to punish the perfidy of France. Why then should we now give up all ? and that too without a blow ; without an attempt to resent the insults offered to us ? If France and Spain are for war, why not try an issue with them ? For, I again say, if we should fall in the attempt, let us fall decently ; and if we cannot live with honour, let us die like men. Heaven forbid that we should be permitted to live one day for the purpose of making scourges for our own backs !

“ At present I cannot point out the means for carrying on the war ; but I wish to recall to your lordships’ remembrance, the extent and revenue of the crown when king
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George III. came to take possession of it. Your lordships will then be satisfied, that the internal resources of the kingdom are great. But I do deny (pointing to the duke of Cumberland) that your lordships, supposing you were so pusillanimous, have any right to vote away the inheritance of thirteen American provinces from the royal family. I revere the descendants of the body of the princess Sophia, and before I agree to the present motion, I will have the prince of Wales, the bishop of Osnaburg, and the other rising hopes of the royal blood, brought down to this house, to give their consent to giving up what they have a legal and natural right to expect to possess. Feeble and shattered as I am, yet so long as I have strength to raise myself on my crutches, so long as I can lift my hand, or utter a syllable, I will vote against the giving up the dependance of America on the sovereignty of Great Britain. Even if I should stand single, I will, to the last moment of my existence, vote against a measure so dishonourable to my country. From my bad state of health, I am sensible that my abilities are not now such as to ensure success even to the best-concerted measures; but I shall always be ready, when called upon, to give an honest advice to my beloved sovereign.

“ I wage war with no set of men, nor do I wish to get into any of their employments. I think the king has a right to chuse his own servants, but, if they shall betray the trust reposed in them, I shall always be for an inquiry into their conduct; and, if they are found guilty, I hope there is still spirit enough in the nation to bring ministers to condign punishment. I trust in God, however, that his majesty will be directed to make a proper choice of his servants. There never was a king who stood more in need of honest and able ministers. But I feel my constitution fails me.—I am always much indebted to your lordships for your indulgence. If my health would permit, if my frail carcase could be supported, I could speak for ever on this subject, when the dignity of my king and the honour of my country are at stake. The good of the nation is my sole ambition; and although I do earnestly pray for an honourable peace, yet I hope never to live so long
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as to see such disgrace brought on the kingdom as must arise from a peace produced by pusillanimous counsels, which any peace with America as independent states must be. I feel my mind agitated at the thoughts of it. My soul revolts. It spurns at the idea of American independence; and therefore I will, on every occasion, give it a negative."—Here his lordship's speech was cut short by extreme weakness.

The duke of Richmond, in reply, declared himself to be "totally ignorant of the means by which we were to resist with success the combination of America with the house of Bourbon. He urged the noble lord to point out any possible mode, if he were able to do it, of making the Americans renounce that independence of which they were in possession. His grace added, that if HE could not, no man could, and that it was not in his power to change his opinion on the noble lord's authority, unsupported by any reasons, but a recital of the calamities arising from a state of things not in the power of this country now to alter."

Lord Chatham, who had appeared greatly moved during the reply, made an eager effort to rise at the conclusion of it, as if labouring with some great idea, and impatient to give full scope to his feelings; but, before he could utter a word, pressing his hand on his bosom, he fell down suddenly in a convulsive fit. The duke of Cumberland, lord Temple, and other lords near him, caught him in their arms. The house was immediately cleared; and his lordship being carried into an adjoining apartment, the debate was adjourned. Medical assistance being obtained, his lordship in some degree recovered, and was conveyed to his favourite villa of Hayes in Kent, where, after lingering some few weeks, he expired, May 11th, 1778, in the 70th year of his age.

The decease of this illustrious person demands a pause in our narration, and calls for a few general remarks on his character and abilities. Nothing less than the fanaticism of party could ever hold up the late earl of Chatham as a patriot of the purest and most unyielding integrity. Ambition was his ruling passion, and in seeking to gratify it, we

must own, that he sometimes at least employed the means which other courtiers have done, and even sacrificed his private judgment to his advancement. No man, while out of office, ever opposed continental and German connexions with more force of argument, with more depth of political sagacity, than he did; no man, when called to a situation under a sovereign, with whom those connexions were a darling object, ever more ingeniously defended them.

That he was not superior even to private cabal and political intrigue, is manifest from the most ample evidence; and particularly from the very curious Diary of the late lord Melcombe.

Without however claiming for this consummate statesman the envied and almost unattainable character of unsullied integrity and unblemished purity of heart, his conduct in administration served most effectually to prove that great talents will, in that high situation, generally prove even a substitute for virtue; and that a *wise* minister will feel that he never can have a separate interest from the people, whose councils he directs. Yet, as a minister, we must perhaps allow that lord Chatham had one failing. Formed by nature for the most active and tempestuous scenes, he was too fond of war; but let it be remembered that he was the only minister of this country that ever had the art of directing even the calamities of war to the advantage of the nation.

As an orator he, perhaps, yet stands unrivalled in this country *. In fire and energy he equalled Demosthenes; in a vivid fancy, and a promptness of idea, he greatly exceeded him. The best speakers of the time shrunk before the amazing force of his eloquence. Lord Mansfield trembled at it; and even the vigour of lord Holland was found inadequate to the contest.

* Mr. Fox is the speaker of the present times, who in vigour of sentiment and force of expression approaches nearest lord Chatham. Mr. Fox, however, is an orator of a different class; he has greater closeness of argument, but less imagination.—Mr. Sheridan equals lord Chatham in a lively imagination, but perhaps wants his dignity.

In private life the talents of lord Chatham were alloyed by a mixture of pride and reserve; but it was pride united with dignity. He was not selfish, but rather too inattentive to his private affairs. He was the man of the public; and though he had certainly equal means with other ministers of amassing wealth, he chose rather to leave his family dependant on the bounty of that country which he had essentially served, than to enrich them by its plunder.

His political system was that of a staunch whig; and though he sometimes conceded to the wishes of the court, as he evidently did with respect to the German connexions, which he described emphatically as "a millstone tied about his neck," yet his enemies cannot charge him with ever having made a sacrifice of any great constitutional principle.

On the same evening which terminated the existence of this great statesman, the melancholy event was announced to the house of commons by colonel Barré, who, after a short eulogium on his character, moved for an address to the king, requesting that he would give directions that "the remains of William Pitt, earl of Chatham, be interred at the public expense." The motion was seconded by Mr. Townshend, and seemed to receive a very general approbation.

Notwithstanding the vast effusions of sorrow and gratitude which were poured forth, it was, however, well known, that, for some time past, lord Chatham had been so ungracious at court, that it was not even thought proper frequently to mention his name there. A gentleman (Mr. Rigby) at that time high in office, endeavoured, therefore, to evade the motion by a proposal, which, without conveying the ungracious and unpopular idea of directly opposing the honour intended to the deceased, would, if adopted, tend greatly to lessen its effect. His proposal was, to erect a monument to his lordship's memory, which, he could not help thinking, would be a more eligible as well as a more lasting testimony, of the public gratitude, than merely to defray his funeral expenses. This proposal, however, produced an effect directly contrary to what was intended. The opposition received it

with joy ; but, instead of the substitution proposed, they joined it to the original motion, in the following words :
 “ And that a monument be erected in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of that great and excellent statesman, with an inscription expressive of the sentiments of the people on so great and irreparable a loss ; and to assure his majesty that this house will make good the expense.”

Lord John Cavendish arose, and said, he hoped that virtue should not, in this instance, be merely its own reward ; but that the gratitude of the public to lord Chatham's family, whom he had left destitute of all suitable provision, should be the means of exciting an emulation in those yet unborn to copy such an example.

The minister concurred in these measures in a manner that did him honour ; and the whole house seemed to participate of a general pleasure in the approbation of them. In consequence of a motion, made by Mr. Townshend, a bill was brought in and passed, by which an annuity of 4000*l.* a-year payable out of the civil-list revenue, was for ever settled on those heirs of the late earl, on whom the earldom of Chatham may descend ; and this was followed by a grant of 20,000*l.* from the commons, for the discharge of the late earl's debts.

Though all this passed in the house of commons without any altercation, or without a single dissentient voice upon any one proposition, it was otherwise in the house of lords. A motion made by the earl of Shelburne, that the house should attend his funeral, was directly opposed, and the motion lost by the majority of one. The bill for settling an annuity on his descendants was likewise vigorously opposed by a few lords ; however, it was carried, by a majority of 42 to 11*.

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* A protest was entered by the duke of Chandos, the lord chancellor, the archbishop of York, and lord Paget.—“ Because,” said they, “ we cannot agree to such an unwarrantable lavishing away of the public money, at a time when the nation groans under a heavy load of debts, and is engaged in a dangerous and expensive war.”

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While these affairs were transacting, Mr. Fox, in the grand committee of inquiry, caused the papers relative to the expedition from Canada to be read, and from these deduced the following resolutions; “that the plan was impolitic, unwise, and incapable of producing any good effect; that the provision made for it was inadequate to the object; and that general Burgoyne had acted agreeably to the tenour of his instructions.” Upon these he founded a vote of censure on the conduct of lord George Germaine, the American secretary, and ostensible adviser of the expedition. The amount of the defence made by the friends of ministry is this, that there had been a great fault somewhere, an army lost, a foreign war consequent, perhaps America itself lost, but that it was improper and impossible to conduct an inquiry into the subject till the arrival of the parties immediately interested; that the American secretary was not to blame, the expedition being wise and practicable, and that a discretionary latitude was granted to general Burgoyne by which he might accommodate his operations to the circumstances of time and place. The first resolution, defeated by these and other similar arguments, was lost by a minority of 44 to 164; and not content with this victory, it was moved by a friend to ministry, “that it does not appear to this committee that the failure of the expedition to Canada arose from any neglect of the secretary of state for the colonies.” Thus the conduct of that minister was to be applauded, although but a few minutes before they had declined any inquiry into the business on a pretence of wanting evidence. The resolution, however, appeared too absurd to be reported.

About the same time colonel Barré having moved for a “committee to inspect the public accounts with respect to expenditure, and to report their opinion thereon to the house,” after great opposition from ministry, twenty-one gentlemen were chosen by ballot as a select committee on this business. This was not satisfactory, as it pro-

“Because we fear that this act may in time be made use of as a precedent for factious purposes, and for the enriching of private families at the public expense.”

mised the usual contempt of parliament; opposition deemed themselves farther insulted, a few days after, when lord North moved for some allowance to be made to the subscribers on the present loan, in order to make up the loss sustained by the changed state of the funds. This proposal was so highly resented, that his lordship thought proper to withdraw it. The taxes and loan of this year afforded a continual supply of matter of censure; but ministry effected on all occasions, by numbers, what they could not by arguments.

The distresses in which the kingdom of Ireland was involved in consequence of the war, and the general and loud complaints of the majority of its inhabitants, made it absolutely necessary to attempt something farther for its relief; and in a committee of the whole house, it was resolved,

I. That the Irish might be permitted to export directly to the British plantations or settlements, all goods, wares, and merchandise, being the produce of that kingdom, or of Great Britain, wool and woollen manufactures only excepted; as also foreign certificate goods legally imported.

II. That a direct importation be allowed of all goods, wares, and merchandise, being the produce of the British plantations, tobacco only excepted.

III. That the direct exportation of glass, manufactured in Ireland, be permitted to all places except Great Britain.

IV. That the importation of cotton yarn, the manufacture of Ireland, be allowed, duty free, into Great Britain; as also,

V. The importation of sail-cloth and cordage.

These resolutions excited a very great and general alarm amongst the commercial part of the British nation, who seemed to consider the admission of Ireland to any participation in trade, as equally destructive to their property, and subversive of their rights.

After the recess, very many instructions and petitions were presented to the house in opposition to them: And it deserves mention, as a striking instance of commercial folly and prejudice, that, in several of the petitions, the import-

importation of Irish sail-cloth, and of wrought iron, are particularly specified as ruinous to the same manufactures in England; though it was by this time discovered, that, by a positive law of long standing, Ireland was in actual possession of those very privileges, although the Irish were so far from being able to prosecute these manufactures to any purpose of competition with the British, that great quantities of both were annually exported to that country from England. An almost equally great and equally groundless alarm had been taken at the bill passed a few years since, for the free importation of woollen yarn into England; which was by experience found and acknowledged to be not merely innocuous, but beneficial; yet such influence had the apprehensions of the public upon the disposition of the house, that the bills founded on the resolutions actually passed, were ultimately dismissed, and some trivial points only conceded, not meriting a distinct specification.

Late in the session, sir George Saville moved for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of certain penalties imposed by an act passed in the 10th of king William, entitled, "an act for preventing the farther growth of popery;" which penalties the mover stated to be, the punishment of popish priests, or jesuits, as guilty of felony, who should be found to officiate in the services of their church; the forfeiture of estate to the next protestant heir, in case of the education of the Romish possessor abroad; the power given to the son, or other nearest relation, being a protestant, to take possession of the father's estate during the lifetime of the proprietor; and the depriving papists of the power of acquiring any legal property by purchase. In proposing the repeal of these penalties, sir George Saville said, "that he meant to vindicate the honour and assert the principles of the protestant religion, to which all persecution was foreign and adverse. The penalties in question were disgraceful, not only to religion, but to humanity. They were calculated to loosen all the bands of society, to dissolve all social, moral, and religious obligations and duties; to poison the sources of domestic felicity, and to annihilate every principle of honour." The motion

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was received with approbation, and the bill founded upon it passed without a single negative.

While the Irish affairs were in agitation, sir Philip Jennings Clerk brought in a bill for restraining any person, being a member of the house of commons, from being concerned in any contract. This was a popular bill, and at first seemed to carry success with it; but on the second reading, a motion being made for commitment, it was lost by two only, 115 to 113, who supported the committing the bill upon a division. The majority moved for its being laid by for two months, which was carried. A message for a vote of credit excited many severe strictures on the conduct of ministers; and although it not only passed in the committee, but the report was received and agreed to in the house without a division, opposition could not help regretting the miserable situation into which the conduct of ministers had reduced the country. Intelligence had been received that D'Estaing, with twelve ships of the line, had sailed from Toulon about the middle of April, and we had no force in America sufficient to oppose him. In answer, ministers endeavoured to convince the house, that, if D'Estaing was really destined for America, lord Howe would be able to use such means of defence as would prevent any immediate consequence of moment; if not, admiral Byron with the fleet under his command, at Portsmouth, could certainly arrive in time to regain any losses that might ensue. It was difficult, however, to persuade the public, that this tardiness in sending out a proper force accorded with that flourishing state of the navy of which the ministry had boasted.

The negligence of ministry indeed in not providing against the naval force sent from Toulon was not to be overlooked. From some papers laid before the house concerning this business, it was proved, and on proof, moved by sir William Meredith, that ministers had received various intelligence, from January to April, of the equipment and sailing of the Toulon fleet on the 13th of April; that no orders had been sent until the 29th of April, for any fleet of observation, to attend the motions
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of that from Toulon; and that no fleet did actually sail, until the 20th of the present May, when eleven sail of the line left St. Helen's. These positions were ably supported, and the insulting conduct of ministry treated with much asperity, and not unprovoked, for they had even gone so far as to say, that parliament had no business to interfere with the measures of government. By the previous question both motions were lost; had they been successful, the mover intended a vote of censure on the conduct of ministers.

The disputes relative to the northern expedition were revived on the arrival of general Burgoyne, who was refused admittance into the royal presence; the sun of court favour no longer shone upon him, and while he remained depressed by ministerial neglect, a court of inquiry was appointed, but the general officers reported, that as he was prisoner on parole to the congress, they could take no cognizance of his conduct. He then demanded a court-martial; this being refused, he determined to submit his actions to parliamentary inquiry. The inquiry was brought on by Mr. Vyner, and seconded by Mr. Fox. From the manly and spirited behaviour of general Burgoyne on this day, he had no reason to expect favour from the part of administration, nor much cause to think that they would very deeply interest themselves in an inquiry that bore a more favourable aspect to him than to them.

This session had now been extended beyond the usual time; it was, however, in both houses moved, that an address should be presented against the prorogation of parliament, until the present alarming crisis might be terminated. This was rejected by the usual majorities, and on June the 3d, his majesty closed this tedious session. In the speech from the throne, "particular thanks were returned for the zeal shown in supporting the honour of the crown, and for their attention to the real interests of the subjects, in the wise, just, and humane laws which had been the result of their deliberations. His majesty's desire to preserve the tranquillity of Europe had been uniform and sincere; he reflected with great satisfaction,

faction, that he had made the faith of treaties and the law of nations the rule of his conduct; let that power by whom this tranquillity should be disturbed, answer to their subjects, and to the world, for all the fatal consequences of war. The vigour and firmness of parliament had enabled his majesty to provide for such events and emergencies as might happen; and he trusted, that the experienced valour and discipline of the fleets and armies, with the loyal and united ardour of the nation, armed and animated in defence of every thing that is dear to them, would be able, under the protection of Divine Providence, to defeat all the enterprises which the enemies of the crown might presume to undertake, and convince them how dangerous it was to provoke the spirit and strength of Great Britain. The commons were thanked for the cheerfulness with which they had granted the large and ample supplies for the service of the year, as well as for their care in raising them in a manner the most effectual, and the least burdensome; and the warmest acknowledgments were due, for the provision made for the more honourable support of the royal family."

The last particular mentioned refers to a bill passed in the course of the session for settling an annuity of 60,000*l.* on the six younger princes, of 30,000*l.* on the five princesses, and of 12,000*l.* on the prince and princess, son and daughter to his royal highness the duke of Gloucester; the annuities to take effect, in the first instance, on the death of his majesty, and in the second, on the death of the duke of Gloucester.

The conciliatory bills of the minister, even before they had received the sanction of parliament, were copied, and sent across the Atlantic, to lord and general Howe. On their arrival in America, they were sent by a flag to the congress at York-Town. When they were received, congress was uninformed of the treaty which their commissioners had lately (on the 21st of April) concluded at Paris. For upwards of a year, they had not received one line of information from them on any subject whatever. One packet had in that time been received, but all the letters were taken out before it was put on board the vessel

vessel which brought it from France, and blank paper put in their stead. A committee of congress was appointed to examine these bills, and report on them. Their report was brought in the day following, and was unanimously adopted. By this they rejected the proposals of Great Britain. The vigorous and firm language in which congress expressed their rejection of these offers, considered in connexion with the circumstance of their being wholly ignorant of the late treaty with France, exhibits the glowing serenity of fortitude. While the royal commissioners were industriously circulating these bills in a partial and secret manner, as if they suspected an intention of concealing them from the common people, congress, trusting to the good sense of their constituents, ordered them to be forthwith printed for the public information. Having directed the affairs of their country with an honest reference to its welfare, they had nothing to fear from the people knowing and judging for themselves. They submitted the whole to the public; their act, after some general remarks on the bill, concluded as follows:

“ From all which it appears evident to your committee, that the said bills are intended to operate upon the hopes and fears of the good people of these states, so as to create divisions among them, and a defection from the common cause, now, by the blessing of Divine Providence, drawing near to a favourable issue: That they are the sequel of that insidious plan, which, from the days of the stamp-act down to the present time, hath involved this country in contention and bloodshed: And that, as in other cases so in this, although circumstances may force them at times to recede from their unjustifiable claims, there can be no doubt but they will, as heretofore, upon the first favourable occasion, again display that lust of domination which hath rent in twain the mighty empire of Britain.

“ Upon the whole matter, the committee beg leave to report it as their opinion, that as the Americans united in this arduous contest upon principles of common interest,

rest, for the defence of common rights and privileges, which union hath been cemented by common calamities, and by mutual good offices and affection, so the great cause for which they contend, and in which all mankind are interested, must derive its success from the continuance of that union. Wherefore any man or body of men, who should presume to make any separate or partial convention or agreement with commissioners under the crown of Great Britain, or any of them, ought to be considered and treated as open and avowed enemies of these United States.

“ And further, your committee beg leave to report it as their opinion, that these United States cannot with propriety hold any conference with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else, in positive and express terms, acknowledge the independence of the said States.

“ And inasmuch as it appears to be the design of the enemies of these States to lull them into a fatal security—to the end that they may act with a becoming weight and importance, it is the opinion of your committee, that the several States be called upon to use the most strenuous exertions to have their respective quotas of continental troops in the field as soon as possible, and that all the militia of the said States be held in readiness to act as occasion may require.”

The conciliatory bills were speedily followed by the royal commissioners, deputed to solicit their reception. Governor Johnstone, lord Carlisle, and Mr. Eden, appointed on this business, attempted to open a negotiation on the subject. They requested general Washington to furnish a passport for their secretary, Dr. Ferguson, with a letter from them to congress; but this was refused, and the refusal was unanimously approved by congress. They then forwarded in the usual channel of communication a letter addressed “ To his excellency Henry Laurens, the president, and other the members of Congress,” in which they communicated a copy of their commission and of the
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acts of parliament on which it was founded, and offered to concur in every satisfactory and just arrangement towards the following among other purposes :

“ To consent to a cessation of hostilities, both by sea and land.

“ To restore free intercourse, to revive mutual affection, and renew the common benefits of naturalization, through the several parts of this empire.

“ To extend every freedom to trade that our respective interests can require.

“ To agree that no military forces shall be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the general congress or particular assemblies.

“ To concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation.

“ To perpetuate our union by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents from the different States, who shall have the privilege of a seat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain; or if sent from Britain, in that case to have a seat and voice in the assemblies of the different States to which they may be deputed respectively, in order to attend the several interests of those by whom they are deputed.

“ In short, to establish the power of the respective legislatures in each particular state, to settle its revenue, its civil and military establishment, and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government, so that the British states throughout North America, acting with us in peace and war under one common sovereign, may have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege that is short of a total separation of interests, or consistent with that union of force, on which the safety of our common religion and liberty depends.”

A decided negative having been already given, previous to the arrival of the British commissioners, to the overtures contained in the conciliatory bills, and intelligence of the treaty with France having in the mean time arrived, there was no ground left for farther deliberation.

President Laurens therefore, by order of congress, on the 17th of June, returned the following answer :

“ I have received the letter from your excellencies of the 9th instant, with the enclosures, and laid them before congress. Nothing but an earnest desire to spare the farther effusion of human blood could have induced them to read a paper, containing expressions so disrespectful to his most christian majesty, the good and great ally of these States; or to consider propositions so derogatory to the honour of an independent nation.

“ The acts of the British parliament, the commission from your sovereign, and your letter, suppose the people of these States to be subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and are founded on the idea of dependance, which is utterly inadmissible.

“ I am further directed to inform your excellencies, that congress are inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it hath been conducted. They will therefore be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the king of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. The only solid proof of this disposition will be, an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these States, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies.”

Though congress could not, consistently with national honour, enter on a discussion of the terms proposed by the British commissioners, yet some individuals of their body ably proved the propriety of rejecting them. Among these governor Morris, and W. H. Drayton, with great force of argument and poignancy of wit, justified the decisive measures adopted by their countrymen.

These offers of conciliation in a great measure originated in an opinion that the congress was supported by a faction, and that the great body of the people was hostile to independence, and well disposed to reunite with Great Britain. The latter of these suppositions was true, till a certain period of the contest; but that period was elapsed.

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With their new situation, new opinions and attachment^s had taken place. The political revolution of the government was less extraordinary than that of the style and manner of thinking in the United States. The independent American citizens saw with other eyes, and heard with other ears, than when they were in the condition of British subjects. That narrowness of sentiment, which prevailed in England towards France, no longer existed among the Americans. The British commissioners, unapprised of this real change in the public mind, expected to keep a hold on the citizens of the United States, by that illiberality which they inherited from their forefathers. Presuming that the love of peace, and the ancient national antipathy to France, would counterbalance all other ties, they flattered themselves that by perseverance an impression favourable to Great Britain might yet be made on the mind of America. - They therefore renewed their efforts to open a negotiation with congress, in a letter of the 11th of July. As they had been informed, in answer to their preceding letter of the 10th of June, that an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, or a withdrawing of their fleets and armies, must precede an entrance on the consideration of a treaty of peace, and as neither branch of this alternative had been complied with, it was resolved by congress that no answer should be given to their reiterated application.

In addition to his public exertions as a commissioner, governor Johnstone endeavoured to obtain the objects on which he had been sent by opening a private correspondence with some of the members of congress, and other Americans of influence. He in particular addressed himself by letter to Henry Laurens, Joseph Reed, and Robert Morris. His letter to Henry Laurens was in these words:

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I BEG to transfer to my friend Dr. Ferguson, the private civilities which my friends Mr. Manning and Mr. Oswald request in my behalf. He is a man of the

utmost probity, and of the highest esteem in the republic of letters.

“ If you should follow the example of Britain in the hour of her insolence, and send us back without a hearing, I shall hope from private friendship, that I may be permitted to see the country, and the worthy characters she has exhibited to the world, upon making the request in any way you may point out.”

The following answer was immediately written.

“ DEAR SIR, *York-Town, June 24th, 1778.*

“ YESTERDAY I was honoured with your favour of the 10th, and thank you for the transmission of those from my dear and worthy friends, Mr. Oswald and Mr. Manning. Had Dr. Ferguson been the bearer of these papers, I should have shown that gentleman every degree of respect and attention that times and circumstances admit of.

“ It is, sir, for Great Britain to determine, whether her commissioners shall return unheard by the representatives of the United States, or revive a friendship with the citizens at large, and remain among us as long as they please.

“ You are undoubtedly acquainted with the only terms upon which congress can treat for accomplishing this good end, terms from which, although writing in a private character, I may venture to assert with great assurance, they never will recede, even admitting the continuance of hostile attempts, and that from the rage of war, the good people of these States shall be driven to commence a treaty westward of yonder mountains. And permit me to add, sir, as my humble opinion, the true interest of Great Britain, in the present advance of our contest, will be found in confirming our independence.

“ Congress in no hour have been haughty; but to suppose that their minds are less firm in the present than they were, when destitute of all foreign aid, even without expectation of an alliance—when, upon a day of general public fasting and humiliation in their house of worship,
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and in presence of God, they resolved "to hold no conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or in positive and express terms acknowledge the independence of these States," would be irrational.

"At a proper time, sir, I shall think myself highly honoured by a personal attention, and by contributing to render every part of these States agreeable to you; but until the basis of mutual confidence shall be established, I believe, sir, neither former private friendship, nor any other consideration, can influence congress to consent, that even governor Johnstone, a gentleman who has been so deservedly esteemed in America, shall see the country. I have but one voice, and that shall be against it. But let me entreat you, my dear sir, do not hence conclude that I am deficient in affection to my old friends, through whose kindness I have obtained the honour of the present correspondence, or that I am not with very great personal respect and esteem,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

And most humble servant,

Philadelphia.

HENRY LAURENS."

The Honourable Geo. Johnstone, Esq.

In a letter to Joseph Reed, of April the 11th, governor Johnstone said, "The man who can be instrumental in bringing us all to act once more in harmony, and to unite together the various powers which this contest has drawn forth, will deserve more from the king and people, from patriotism, humanity, and all the tender ties that are affected by the quarrel and reconciliation, than ever was yet bestowed on human kind." On the 16th of June he wrote to Robert Morris, "I believe the men who have conducted the affairs of America incapable of being influenced by improper motives; but in all such transactions there is risk; and I think, that whoever ventures should be secured, at the same time that honour and emolument should naturally follow the fortune of those,

who have steered the vessel in the storm, and brought her safely to port. I think Washington and the president have a right to every favour that grateful nations can bestow, if they could once more unite our interest, and spare the miseries and devastations of war."

To Joseph Reed, private information was communicated, that it had been intended by governor Johnstone, to offer him, in case of his exerting his abilities to promote a reunion of the two countries, if consistent with his principles and judgment, ten thousand pounds sterling, and any office in the colonies in his majesty's gift. To which Mr. Reed replied, "I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it." Congress, on the 9th of July, ordered all letters, received by members of congress, from any of the British commissioners, or their agents, or from any subject of the king of Great Britain, of a public nature, to be laid before them. The above letters and information being communicated, congress resolved, "That the same cannot but be considered as direct attempts to corrupt their integrity, and that it is incompatible with the honour of congress to hold any manner of correspondence or intercourse with the said George Johnstone, esquire, especially to negotiate with him upon affairs in which the cause of liberty is interested." Their determination, with the reasons of it, were expressed in the form of a declaration, a copy of which was signed by the president, and sent by a flag to the commissioners at New-York. This was answered by governor Johnstone by an angry publication, in which he denied or explained away what had been alleged against him. Lord Carlisle, sir Henry Clinton, and Mr. Eden, denied their having any knowledge of the matter charged on governor Johnstone.

The commissioners failing in their attempts to negotiate with congress had no resource left, but to persuade the inhabitants to adopt a line of conduct counter to that of their representatives. To this purpose they published a manifesto and proclamation, addressed to congress, the assemblies, and all others the free inhabitants of

of the colonies, in which they observed, "The policy, as well as the benevolence of Great Britain, have thus far checked the extremes of war, when they tended to distress a people still considered as our fellow-subjects, and to desolate a country shortly to become a source of mutual advantage : But when that country professes the unnatural design not only of estranging herself from us, but of mortgaging herself and her resources to our enemies, the whole contest is changed, and the question is, how far Great Britain may, by every means in her power, destroy or render useless a connexion contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of France. Under such circumstances the laws of self-preservation must direct the conduct of Great Britain; and if the *British* colonies are to become an accession to France, will direct her to render the accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy."

Congress, upon being informed of the design of the commissioners to circulate these papers, declared, that the agents employed to distribute the manifestoes and proclamation of the commissioners, were not entitled to protection from a flag. They also recommended to the several states to secure and keep them in close custody; but that they might not appear to hoodwink their constituents, they ordered the manifestoes and proclamation to be printed in the newspapers. The proposals of the commissioners were not more favourably received by the people than they had been by congress. In some places the flags containing them were not received, but ordered instantly to depart; in others they were received, and forwarded to congress, as the only proper tribunal to take cognizance of them. In no one place, not immediately commanded by the British army, was there any attempt to accept, or even to deliberate on the propriety of closing with the offers of Britain.

To deter the British from executing their threats of laying waste the country, congress, on the 30th of October, published to the world a resolution and manifesto, in which they concluded with these words:

"We,

“ We, therefore, the congress of the United States of America, do solemnly declare and proclaim, that if our enemies presume to execute their threats, or persist in their present career of barbarity, we will take such exemplary vengeance as shall deter others from a like conduct. We appeal to that God who searcheth the hearts of men, for the rectitude of our intentions; and in his holy presence we declare, that as we are not moved by any light and hasty suggestion of anger and revenge, so through every possible change of fortune we will adhere to this our determination.”

This was the last effort of Great Britain, in the way of negotiation, to regain her colonies. It originated in folly, and ignorance of the real state of affairs in America. She had begun with *wrong* measures, and had now got into *wrong* time. Her concessions, on this occasion, were an implied justification of the resistance of the colonists. By offering to concede all that they at first asked for, she virtually acknowledged herself to have been the aggressor in an unjust war. Nothing could be more favourable to the cementing of the friendship of the new allies than this unsuccessful negotiation. The States had an opportunity of evincing the sincerity of their engagements, and France abundant reason to believe that, by preventing their being conquered, her favourite scheme of lessening the power of Great Britain would be secured beyond the reach of accident.

After the termination of the campaign of 1777, the British army retired to winter-quarters in Philadelphia, and the American army to Valley Forge. The former enjoyed all the conveniencies which an opulent city afforded, while the latter, not half clothed, and more than once on the point of starving, were enduring the severity of a cold winter in a huddled camp. It was well for them that the British made no attempt to disturb them, while in this destitute condition.

The winter and spring passed away without any more remarkable events in either army, than a few successful excursions of parties from Philadelphia to the neighbouring country, for the purpose of bringing in supplies, or destroy-

destroying property. In one of these, a party of the British proceeded to Bordenton, and there burned four store-houses full of useful commodities. Before they returned to Philadelphia, they burned two frigates, nine ships, six privateer sloops, twenty-three brigs, with a number of sloops and schooners.

Soon after, an excursion from Newport was made by 500 British and Hessians, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Campbell. These, having landed in the night, marched next morning (May 25) in two bodies, the one for Warren, the other for the head of Kickemuet river. They destroyed about 70 flat-bottomed boats, and burned a quantity of pitch, tar, and plank. They also set fire to the meeting-house at Warren, and seven dwelling-houses. At Bristol they burned the church and twenty-two houses. Several other houses were plundered, and women were stripped of their shoe-buckles, gold rings, and handkerchiefs.

The French squadron, commanded by count D'Estaing, which had sailed from Toulon for America, arrived, on the 9th of July, after a passage of 87 days, at the entrance of the Delaware. From an apprehension of something of this kind, and from the prospect of greater security, it was resolved in Great Britain forthwith to evacuate Philadelphia, and to concentrate the royal force in the city and harbour of New York. The commissioners brought out the orders for this movement, but knew nothing of the matter: It had an unfriendly influence on their proposed negotiations, but it was indispensably necessary; for if the French fleet had blocked up the Delaware, and the Americans besieged Philadelphia, the escape of the British from either would have been scarcely possible.

On the 18th of June the royal army passed over the Delaware into New-Jersey. General Washington, having penetrated into their design of evacuating Philadelphia, had previously detached general Maxwell's brigade to co-operate with the Jersey militia in obstructing their progress, till time should be given for his army to overtake them. The British were encumbered with an enormous
baggage,

baggage, which, together with the impediments thrown in their way, greatly retarded their march. The American army having, in pursuit of the British, crossed the Delaware, 600 men were immediately detached under colonel Morgan to reinforce general Maxwell. Washington halted his troops, when they had marched to the vicinity of Princeton*. The general officers in the American army, being asked by the commander in chief, "Will it be advisable to hazard a general action?" answered in the negative, but recommended a detachment of 1500 men to be immediately sent to act as occasion might serve on the enemy's left flank and rear. This was immediately forwarded under general Scott. When sir Henry Clinton had advanced to Allen-Town, he determined, instead of keeping the direct course towards Staten Island, to draw towards the sea-coast, and to push on towards Sandy Hook. General Washington, on receiving intelligence that sir Henry was proceeding in that direction towards Monmouth court-house, despatched 1000 men under general Wayne, and sent the marquis de la Fayette to take the command of the whole advanced corps, with orders to seize the first fair opportunity of attacking the enemy's rear. General Lee, who having been lately exchanged, had joined the army, was offered this command, but declined it, as he was in principle against hazarding an attack. The whole army followed at a proper distance, for supporting the advanced corps, and reached Cranberry the next morning. Sir Henry Clinton, sensible of the approach of the Americans, placed his grenadiers, light-infantry, and chasseurs in his rear, and his baggage in his front. General Washington increased his advanced corps with two brigades, and sent general Lee, who now wished for the command, to take charge of the whole, and followed with the main army to give it support. On the next morning orders were sent to Lee to move on and attack, unless there should be powerful reasons to the contrary. When Washington had marched about five miles to support the

* June 24.

advanced

advanced corps, he found the whole of it retreating by Lee's orders, and without having made any opposition of consequence. Washington rode up to Lee, and proposed certain questions to him, which implied censure. Lee answered with warmth and unsuitable language. The commander in chief ordered colonel Stewart's and lieutenant-colonel Ramsay's battalions to form on a piece of ground which he judged suitable for giving a check to the advancing enemy. Lee was then asked if he would command on that ground, to which he consented, and was ordered to take proper measures for checking the enemy, to which he replied, "Your orders shall be obeyed, and I will not be the first to leave the field." Washington then rode to the main army, which was formed with the utmost expedition. A warm cannonade immediately commenced between the British and American artillery, and a heavy firing between the advanced troops of the British army, and the two battalions which general Washington had halted. These stood their ground, till they were intermixed with a part of the British army. Lieutenant-colonel Ramsay, the commander of one of them, was wounded and taken prisoner. General Lee continued till the last on the field of battle, and brought off the rear of the retreating troops.

The check the British received, gave time to make a disposition of the left wing and second line of the American army in the wood, and on the eminence to which Lee was retreating: On this some cannon were placed by lord Sterling, who commanded the left wing, which, with the co-operation of some parties of infantry, effectually stopped the advance of the British in that quarter. General Greene took a very advantageous position on the right of lord Sterling. The British attempted to turn the left flank of the Americans, but were repulsed; they also made a movement to the right with little success, for Greene with his artillery disappointed their design. Wayne advanced with a body of troops, and kept up so severe and well-directed a fire, that the British were soon compelled to give way. They retired, and
took

took the position which Lee had before occupied. Washington resolved to attack them, and ordered general Poor to move round upon their right, and general Woodford to their left; but they could not get within reach before it was dark. These remained on the ground, which they had been directed to occupy during the night, with an intention of attacking early next morning, and the main body lay on their arms in the field to be ready for supporting them. General Washington reposed himself in his cloak under a tree, in hopes of renewing the action the next day; but these hopes were frustrated: The British troops marched away in the night, in such silence, that general Poor, though he lay very near them, knew nothing of their departure. They left behind them four officers and about forty privates; all so badly wounded, that they could not be removed; their other wounded were carried off. The British pursued their march without farther interruption, and on the 30th of June reached the neighbourhood of Sandy Hook, without the loss of either their covering party or baggage. The American general declined all farther pursuit of the royal army, and soon after drew off his troops to the borders of the North River. The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded was about 250. The loss of the royal army, inclusive of prisoners, was about 350. Lieutenant-colonel Monckton, one of the British slain, on account of his singular merit, was universally lamented. Colonel Bonner of Pennsylvania, and major Dickenson of Virginia, officers highly esteemed by their country, fell in this engagement. The emotions of the mind, added to fatigue in a very hot day, brought on such a fatal suppression of the vital powers, that some of the Americans, and 59 of the British, were found dead on the field of battle without any marks of violence upon their bodies.

It is probable that Washington intended to take no farther notice of Lee's conduct in the day of action, but the latter could not brook the expressions used by the former at their first meeting, and wrote him two passionate letters. This occasioned his being arrested and brought to trial. The charges exhibited against him were—1st, For disobedience

obedience of orders in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June, agreeable to repeated instructions.

2dly, For misbehaviour before the enemy, on the same day, by making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat.

3dly, For disrespect to the commander in chief in two letters.—After a tedious hearing before a court-martial, of which Lord Sterling was president, Lee was found guilty, and sentenced to be suspended from any command in the armies of the United States for the term of one year; but the second charge was softened by the court-martial, who in their award only found him guilty of misbehaviour before the enemy, by making an unnecessary, and in some few instances a disorderly retreat. Though there was a diversity of opinions relative to the first and second charges, all were agreed in pronouncing him guilty of disrespect to the commander in chief. The Americans formerly had idolized general Lee, but some of them now went to the opposite extreme, and pronounced him treacherous or deficient in courage, though there was no foundation for either of these suspicions. His temper was violent, and his impatience of subordination had led him often to quarrel with those whom he was bound to respect and obey: But his courage and fidelity could not be questioned.

Soon after the battle of Monmouth, the American army took post at the White Plains, a few miles beyond Kingsbridge; and the British, though only a few miles distant, did not molest them. They remained in this position from an early day in July, till a late one in the autumn, and then the Americans retired to Middlebrook in Jersey, where they built themselves huts in the same manner as they had done at Valley Forge.

Immediately on the departure of the British from Philadelphia, congress, after an absence of nine months, returned to the former seat of their deliberations. Soon after their return*, they were called upon to give a public audience to a minister plenipotentiary from the

* August 6.

court of France. The person appointed to this office was M. Gerard, the same who had been employed in the negotiations antecedent to the treaty. The British had but barely completed the removal of their fleet and army, from the Delaware and Philadelphia to the harbour and city of New-York, when they received intelligence that the French fleet was on the coast of America. Count D'Estaing had with him twelve ships of the line and three frigates: Among the former, one carried 90 guns, another 80, and six 74 guns each. Their first object was the surprise of lord Howe's fleet in the Delaware, but they arrived too late. In naval history there are few more narrow escapes than that of the British fleet on this occasion. It consisted only of six 64-gun ships, three of 50, and two of 40, with some frigates and sloops. Most of these had been long on service, and were in a bad condition. Their force, when compared with that of the French fleet, was so greatly inferior, that, had the latter reached the mouth of the Delaware after a less tedious passage, their capture, in the ordinary course of events, would have been inevitable. This stroke was providentially prevented, by the various hindrances which retarded D'Estaing in his voyage to the term of 87 days, in the last eleven of which, lord Howe's fleet not only quitted the Delaware, but reached the harbour of New-York. D'Estaing, disappointed in his first scheme, pursued, and on the 11th of July appeared off Sandy Hook. American pilots of the first abilities, provided for the purpose, went on board his fleet. Among them were persons, whose circumstances placed them above the ordinary rank of pilots.

The sight of the French fleet raised all the active passions of their adversaries. Transported with indignation against the French, for interfering in what they called a domestic quarrel, the British displayed a spirit of zeal and bravery which could not be exceeded. A thousand volunteers were despatched from their transports to man their fleet. The masters and mates of the merchantmen and traders at New-York took their stations at the guns with the common sailors. Others put to sea in light vessels

vessels to watch the motions of the enemy. The officers and privates of the British army contended with so much eagerness to serve on board the men of war as marines, that it became necessary to decide the point of honour by lot.

The French fleet came to anchor, and continued without the Hook for eleven days. During this time the British had the mortification of seeing the blockade of their fleet, and the capture of about 20 vessels under English colours. On the 22d, the French fleet appeared under weigh. It was an anxious moment to the British. They supposed that count D'Estaing would force his way into the harbour, and that an engagement would be the consequence. Every thing with them was at stake. Nothing less than destruction or victory would have ended the contest. If the first had been their lot, the vast fleet of transports and victuallers, and the army, must have fallen. The pilots on board the French fleet declared it to be impossible to carry the large ships over the bar, on account of their draught of water. D'Estaing on that account, and by the advice of general Washington, left the Hook, and sailed for Newport. By his departure the British had a second escape, for, had he remained at the Hook but a few days longer, the fleet of admiral Byron must have fallen into his hands. That officer had been sent out to relieve lord Howe, who had solicited to be recalled, and the fleet under his command had been sent to reinforce that which had been previously on the coast of America. Admiral Byron's squadron had met with bad weather, and was separated in different storms. It now arrived, scattered, broken, sickly, dismasted or otherwise damaged. Within eight days after the departure of the French fleet, the Renown, the Raisable, the Centurion, and the Cornwall, arrived singly at Sandy Hook.

The next attempt of count D'Estaing was against Rhode Island, of which the British had been in possession since December 1776. A combined attack against it was projected, and it was agreed that general Sullivan should command the American land forces. Such was the eagerness of the people to co operate with their new allies, and so confident were they of success, that some thou-

sands of volunteers engaged in the service. The militia of Massachusetts was under the command of general Hancock. The royal troops on the island having been lately reinforced, were about 6000. Sullivan's force was about 10,000. Lord Howe followed count D'Estaing, and came within sight of Rhode Island the day after the French fleet entered the harbour of Newport. The British fleet exceeded the French in point of number, but was inferior with respect to effective force and weight of metal. On the appearance of lord Howe, the French admiral put out to sea with his whole fleet to engage him; while the two commanders were exerting their naval skill to gain respectively the advantages of position, a strong gale of wind came on, which afterwards increased to a tempest, and greatly damaged the ships on both sides. In this conflict of the elements, two capital French ships were dismasted. The Languedoc of 90 guns, D'Estaing's own ship, after losing all her masts and her rudder, was attacked by the Renown of 50 guns, commanded by capt. Dawson. The same evening the Preston of 50 guns, fell in with the Tonnant of 80 guns, with only her mainmast standing, and attacked her with spirit, but night put an end to the engagement. Six sail of the French squadron came up in the night, which saved the disabled ships from any farther attack. There was no ship or vessel lost on either side. The British suffered less in the storm than their adversaries, yet enough to make it necessary for them to return to New-York for the purpose of refitting. The French fleet came to anchor on the 20th, near Rhode Island, but sailed on the 22d to Boston. Before they sailed, general Greene and the marquis de la Fayette went on board the Languedoc, to consult on measures proper to be pursued. They urged D'Estaing to return with his fleet into the harbour, but his principal officers were opposed to the measure, and protested against it. He had been instructed to go to Boston, if his fleet met with any misfortune. His officers insisted on his ceasing to prosecute the expedition against Rhode Island, that he might conform to the orders of their common superiors. Upon the return of general
Greene

Greene and the marquis de la Fayette, and their reporting the determination of count D'Estaing, a protest was drawn up and sent to him, which was signed by John Sullivan, Nathaniel Greene, John Hancock, I. Glover, Ezekiel Cornell, William Whipple, John Tyler, Solomon Lovell, John Fitconnell. In this they protested against the count's taking the fleet to Boston, as derogatory to the honour of France, contrary to the intention of his most christian majesty, and the interest of his nation, and destructive in the highest degree to the welfare of the United States, and highly injurious to the alliance formed between the two nations. Had D'Estaing prosecuted his original plan within the harbour, either before or immediately after the pursuit of lord Howe, the reduction of the British post on Rhode Island would have been probable; but his departure in the first instance to engage the British fleet, and in the second from Rhode Island to Boston, frustrated the whole plan. Perhaps count D'Estaing hoped by something brilliant to efface the impressions made by his late failure at New-York; or he might have thought it imprudent to stake his whole fleet within an harbour possessed by his enemies.

After his ships had suffered both from battle and the storm, the letter of his instructions, the importunity of his officers, and his anxiety to have his ships speedily refitted, might have weighed with him to sail directly for Boston. Whatever were the reasons which induced his adoption of that measure, the Americans were greatly dissatisfied; they complained that they had incurred great expense and danger, under the prospect of the most effective co-operation; that depending thereon, they had risked their lives on an island, where, without naval protection, they were exposed to particular danger: That in this situation they were first deserted, and afterwards totally abandoned, at a time, when by persevering in the original plan, they had well-grounded hopes of speedy success. Under these apprehensions, the discontented militia went home in such crowds, that the regular army which remained was in danger of being cut off from a retreat. In these embarrassing circumstances, general

Sullivan extricated himself with judgment and ability; he began to send off his heavy artillery and baggage on the 26th of August, and retreated from the lines on the night of the 28th. It had been that day resolved in a council of war, to remove to the north end of the island, fortify their camp, secure a communication with the main, and hold the ground till it could be known whether the French fleet would return to their assistance. The marquis de la Fayette, by desire of his associates, set off for Boston, to request the speedy return of the French fleet. To this count D'Estaing would not consent, but he made a spirited offer to lead the troops under his command, and co-operate with the American land forces against Rhode Island.

Sullivan retreated with great order, but he had not been five hours at the north end of the island, when his troops were fired upon by the British, who had pursued them on discovering their retreat. The pursuit was made by two parties, and on two roads; to one was opposed colonel Henry B. Livingston, to the other John Laurens, aid de camp to general Washington, and each of them had a command of light troops. In the first instance, these light troops were compelled by superior numbers to give way, but they kept up a retreating fire. On being reinforced they gave their pursuers a check, and at length repulsed them. By degrees the action became in some respects general, and near 1200 Americans were engaged. The loss on each side was between two and three hundred.

Lord Howe's fleet, with sir Henry Clinton, and about 4000 troops on board, being seen off the coast, general Sullivan concluded immediately to evacuate Rhode Island. As the sentries of both armies were within 400 yards of each other, the greatest caution was necessary. To cover the design of retreating, the show of resistance and continuance on the island was kept up. The retreat was made in the night of August the 30th, and mostly completed by twelve o'clock. Towards the last of it the marquis de la Fayette returned from Boston; he had ridden thither from Rhode Island, a distance of near 70 miles in 7 hours, and returned in six and a half. Anxious

to partake in the engagement, his mortification was not little at being out of the way on the day before. He was in time to bring off the picquets, and other parties that covered the retreat of the American army; this he did in excellent order, not a man was left behind him, nor was the smallest article lost.

The bravery and good conduct which John Laurens displayed on this occasion, were excelled by his magnanimity, in declining a military commission which was conferred on him by the representatives of his country. Congress resolved, that he should be presented with a continental commission, of lieutenant-colonel, in testimony of the sense which they entertained of his patriotic and spirited services, and of his brave conduct in several actions, particularly in that of Rhode Island on the 29th of August.

On the next day he wrote to congress a letter, expressing "his gratitude for the unexpected honour which they were pleased to confer on him, and the satisfaction it would have afforded him, could he have accepted it without injuring the rights of the officers in the line of the army, and doing an evident injustice to his colleagues in the family of the commander in chief. That having been a spectator of the convulsions occasioned in the army by disputes of rank, he held the tranquillity of it too dear, to be instrumental in disturbing it, and therefore entreated congress to suppress their resolve, ordering him the commission of lieutenant-colonel, and to accept his sincere thanks for the intended honour."

With the abortive expedition to Rhode Island, there was an end to the plans, which were in this first campaign projected by the allies of congress, for a co-operation. The Americans had been intoxicated with hopes of the most decisive advantages, but in every instance they were disappointed. Lord Howe, with an inferiority of force, not only preserved his own fleet, but counteracted and defeated all the views and attempts of count D'Estaing. The French fleet gained no direct advantages for the Americans, yet their arrival was of great service to their cause. Besides deranging the plans of the British, it carried con-
viction

vision to their minds, that his most christian majesty was seriously disposed to support them. The good-will of their new allies was manifested to the Americans, and though it had failed in producing the effects expected from it, the failure was charged to winds, weather, and unavoidable incidents. Some censured count D'Estaing; but while they attempted to console themselves, by throwing blame on him, they felt and acknowledged their obligation to the French nation, and were encouraged to persevere in the war, from the hope that better fortune would attend their future co-operations.

Sir Henry Clinton, finding that the Americans had left Rhode Island, returned to New-York, but directed general Grey to proceed to Bedford and the neighbourhood, where several American privateers resorted. On reaching the place of their destination (Sept. 5), the general's party landed, and in a few hours destroyed about 70 sail of shipping, besides a number of small craft. They also burned magazines, wharfs, stores, warehouses, vessels on the stocks, and a considerable number of dwelling-houses. The buildings burned in Bedford were estimated to be worth 20,000*l.* sterling. The other articles destroyed were worth much more. The royal troops proceeded to Martha's Vineyard; there they destroyed a few vessels, and made a requisition of the militia arms, the public money, 300 oxen, and 2000 sheep, which was complied with.

A similar expedition under the command of captain Ferguson was about the same time undertaken against Little Egg Harbour, at which place the Americans had a number of privateers and prizes, and also some salt-works. Several of the vessels got off, but all that were found were destroyed. Previous to the embarkation of the British from Egg Harbour for New-York, captain Ferguson, with 250 men, surprised and put to death about fifty of a party of the Americans, who were posted in the vicinity. The attack being made in the night, little or no quarter was given.

The loss sustained by the British in these several excursions was trifling, but the advantage was considerable,
from

from the supplies they procured, and the check which was given to the American privateers.

One of the most disastrous events which occurred at this period of the campaign, was the surprise and massacre of an American regiment of light dragoons, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Baylor. While employed in a detached situation, to intercept and watch a British foraging party, they took up their lodging in a barn near Taapan. The officer who commanded the party which surprised them was major-general Grey; he acquired the name of the "No-flint General," from his common practice of ordering the men under his command to take the flints out of their muskets, that they might be confined to the use of their bayonets. A party of militia which had been stationed on the road by which the British advanced, quitted their post, without giving any notice to colonel Baylor. This disorderly conduct was the occasion of the disaster which followed. Grey's men proceeded with such silence and address, that they cut off a serjeant's patrol without noise, and surrounded Old Taapan without being discovered; they then rushed in upon Baylor's regiment while they were in a profound sleep. Incapable of defence or resistance, cut off from every prospect of selling their lives dear, the surprised dragoons sued for quarter. Unmoved by their supplications, their adversaries applied the bayonet, and continued its repeated thrusts, while objects could be found in which any signs of life appeared. A few escaped, and others, after having received from five to eleven bayonet wounds in the trunk of the body, were restored, in a course of time, to perfect health. Baylor himself was wounded, but not dangerously: He lost, in killed, wounded, and taken, 67 privates out of 104; about 40 were made prisoners. These were indebted for their lives to the humanity of one of Grey's captains, who gave quarter to the whole fourth troop, though contrary to the orders of his superior officers. The circumstance of the attack being made in the night, when neither order nor discipline can be observed, may apologise in some degree, with men of a certain description, for this bloody scene. It cannot be
main-

maintained, that the laws of war require that quarter should be given in similar assaults, but the lovers of mankind must ever contend, that the laws of humanity are of superior obligation to those of war. The truly brave will spare when resistance ceases, and in every case where it can be done with safety. The perpetrators of such actions may justly be denominated the enemies of refined society. As far as their example avails, it tends to arrest the growing humanity of modern times, and to revive the barbarism of Gothic ages. On these principles, the massacre of colonel Baylor's regiment was the subject of much complaint; the particulars of it were ascertained, by the oaths of credible witnesses, taken before governor Livingston of Jersey, and the whole was submitted to the judgment of the public.

In the summer of this year (1778), an expedition was undertaken by the Americans against East-Florida. This was resolved upon with the double view of protecting the states of Georgia from depredation, and of causing a diversion. General Robert Howe, who conducted it, had under his command about 2000 men, a few hundred of which were continental troops, and the remainder militia of the states of South-Carolina and Georgia; they proceeded as far as St. Mary's river, and without any opposition of consequence. At this place the British had erected a fort, which in compliment to Tonyn, governor of the province, was called by his name. On the approach of general Howe, they destroyed this fort, and after some slight skirmishing, retreated towards St. Augustine. The season was more fatal to the Americans than any opposition they experienced from their enemies. Sicknefs and death raged to such a degree that an immediate retreat became necessary; but before this was effected, they lost nearly one fourth of their whole number.

The royal commissioners having failed in their attempts to induce the Americans to resume the character of British subjects, and the successive plans of co-operation between the new allies having also failed, a solemn pause ensued. It would seem as if the commissioners indulged a hope that the citizens of the United States, on finding a disappointment

ment of their expectation from the French, would reconsider and accept the offers of Great Britain. Full time was given, both for the circulation of their manifesto, and for observing its effects on the public mind; but no overtures were made to them from any quarter. The year was drawing near to a close before any interesting expedition was undertaken. With this new æra, a new system was introduced. Hitherto the conquest of the states had been attempted by proceeding from north to south: But that order was henceforth inverted, and the southern states became the principal theatre on which the British conducted their offensive operations. Georgia being one of the weakest states in the union, and at the same time abounding in provisions, was marked out as the first object of renewed warfare. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, an officer of known courage and ability, on the 27th of November embarked from New-York for Savannah, with a force of about 2000 men, under the convoy of some ships of war commanded by commodore Hyde Parker. To make more sure of success in the enterprise, major-general Prevost, who commanded the royal forces in East-Florida, was directed to advance with them into the southern extremity of Georgia. The fleet that sailed from New-York in about three weeks effected a landing near the mouth of the river Savannah. From the landing-place a narrow causeway of six hundred yards in length, with a ditch on each side, led through a swamp. A body of the British light-infantry moved forward along this causeway. On their advance they received a heavy fire from a small party under captain Smith, posted for the purpose of impeding their passage. Captain Cameron was killed, but the British made their way good, and compelled captain Smith to retreat. General Howe, the American officer to whom the defence of Georgia was committed, took his station on the main road, and posted his little army, consisting of about 600 continentals and a few hundred militia, between the landing-place and the town of Savannah, with the river on his left and a morass in front. This disposition announced great difficulties to be overcome

come before the Americans could be dislodged. While colonel Campbell was making the necessary arrangements for this purpose, he received intelligence from a negro of a private path through the swamp on the right of the Americans, which lay in such a situation that the British troops might march through it unobserved. Sir James Baird with the light-infantry was directed to avail himself of this path, in order to turn the right wing of the Americans and attack their rear. As soon as it was supposed that sir James Baird had cleared his passage, the British in front of the Americans were directed to advance and engage. Howe, finding himself attacked in the rear as well as in the front, ordered an immediate retreat. The British pursued with great execution: Their victory was complete. Upwards of 100 of the Americans were killed. Thirty-eight officers, 415 privates, 48 pieces of cannon, 23 mortars, the fort with its ammunition and stores, the shipping in the river, a large quantity of provisions, with the capital of Georgia, were all, in the space of a few hours, in the possession of the conquerors. The broken remains of the American army retreated up the river Savannah for several miles, and then took shelter by crossing into South-Carolina. Agreeably to instructions, general Prevost had marched from East-Florida about the same time that the embarkation took place from New-York. After encountering many difficulties, the king's troops from St. Augustine reached the inhabited parts of Georgia, and there heard the welcome tidings of the arrival and success of colonel Campbell. Savannah having fallen, the fort at Sunbury surrendered. General Prevost marched to Savannah, and took the command of the combined forces from New-York and St. Augustine. Previous to his arrival, a proclamation had been issued, to encourage the inhabitants to come in and submit to the conquerors, with promises of protection, on condition that with their arms they would support royal government.

Lieutenant-colonel Campbell acted with great policy, in securing the submission of the inhabitants. He did more in a short time, and with comparatively a few men,

towards the re-establishment of the British interest, than all the general officers who had preceded him. He not only extirpated military opposition, but subverted for some time every trace of republican government, and paved the way for the re-establishment of a royal legislature. Georgia, soon after the reduction of its capital, exhibited a singular spectacle. It was the only state of the union, in which, after the declaration of independence, a legislative body was convened under the authority of the crown of Great Britain. The moderation and prudence of lieutenant-colonel Campbell were more successful in reconciling the minds of the citizens to their former constitution, than the severe measures which had been generally adopted by other British commanders.

While such were the proceedings on the continent of America, which was the grand scene of action, naval preparations were carried on with some spirit both by France and England.

Admiral Keppel, an officer of tried courage and great experience, was appointed to the command of the grand fleet at Portsmouth. This fleet was found in a very insufficient condition; but so vigilant and active were the admiral's endeavours, that about June he was enabled to take the sea.

The British admiral sailed from Portsmouth with twenty sail of the line before war had been declared or even reprisals ordered; when he arrived in the Bay of Biscay he observed two French frigates (the *Licorne* and *Belle Poule*) taking a survey of the British fleet. Determined to risk the consequences of such conduct as the necessity of the moment suggested, he gave orders for the frigates to be attacked, which were soon forced to yield to the English flag. When, however, he understood the force of the French in Brest water to be thirty-two sail of the line, besides ten or twelve frigates, he thought it prudent to return to Portsmouth in order to augment his force, and on the 9th of July he was enabled to put to sea again with twenty-four sail of the line, and was joined on the way by six more. The French king made the capture of his frigates a pretence for ordering reprisals; this was

retorted on the part of Great Britain, and war was now virtually proclaimed, although the accustomed ceremony was not performed.

The day before the British fleet sailed from Portsmouth, the French fleet sailed from Brest, amounting to thirty-two sail of the line, with a great number of frigates, under the command of the count D'Orvilliers, assisted by several other admirals in different divisions. The English fleet was divided into three divisions; the van commanded by admiral Harland, of the red, and the rear by sir Hugh Palliser, of the blue. The fleets came in sight of each other on the 23d of July. When, however, the French commander perceived that Keppel's fleet had been reinforced he avoided an engagement, and as night was fast advancing, the latter formed a line, leaving it to the enemy to make an attack. In the morning the French had gained the weather-gage, by which they had it in their power to hazard or avoid an action. Admiral Keppel had many motives for attempting to bring on a general engagement; one was the protection of two East India, and two West India fleets hourly expected. It was probable at the same time that the French commander entertained hopes of a reinforcement. Admiral Keppel discontinued the signal for preserving the line of battle, and put up that for chasing to windward. In this manner he kept up a chase, in order to seize the first opportunity of a change of wind, to bring the enemy to a decisive action.

On the morning of the 27th of July, the vice-admiral of the blue was rather more to leeward than his station required, upon which admiral Keppel threw out a signal for several ships of that division to chase to windward. About eleven o'clock the fleets were so shifted, by changes of wind, that an engagement seemed inevitable, while the French endeavoured to avoid it, by putting about to a contrary tack, instead of lying to, and receiving the British fleet in a line of battle on the same tack, so that the ships could only engage as they passed. In this situation any British ship that could reach the head of the French fleet, would engage with every ship in their line. This mode is obviously disadvantageous for the purposes of a general engage-

engagement, but there was now no choice. The French began by firing from a great distance at the headmost of sir Robert Harland's division, who did not return a single shot till they came very near; the example was followed by the rest of the British fleet, so that in a short time they were all in battle. The action lasted about three hours, and both sides did considerable execution. As soon as the smoke permitted admiral Keppel to make an observation, he perceived that the vice-admiral of the red, with part of his division, had already tacked, and was standing towards the enemy, but that none of the other ships which were come out of action had yet tacked. His own ship the *Victory* was not in a condition for immediate tacking; but notwithstanding her damages, she was the first ship that wore of the centre division, and that got round again towards the enemy. Hauling down the signal for battle, he made the signal for forming the line of battle a-head. The *Victory* now was a-head of all the centre and red divisions, and had time to unbend her main-top-sail (which had been rendered totally unserviceable) while the ships astern were getting into their respective situations. The vice-admiral of the blue was a-head of the *Victory*, his proper station, yet disregarded the signal, quitted his station, passed his admiral to leeward on the contrary tack, and never came into the line during the rest of the day. By this manœuvre, the *Victory*, the nearest ship to the enemy, was supported by no more than three or four of her own division. Sir Robert Harland, with six or seven of his division ready for service, was to the windward; other ships were far astern, and five, disabled in their rigging, were at a great distance to leeward, so that all the force which the admiral could collect for the engagement, at three o'clock, was twelve ships. The French, observing the exposed situation of the British ships which had fallen to leeward to repair damages, formed an intention of cutting them off from the rest of the line. The admiral perceiving their design, stood across the van of the enemy, in a diagonal line, for the protection of his ships, ordering sir Robert Harland to form his division at a distance astern of the *Victory* in order to cover the rear, until the vice-ad-

miral of the blue should obey the signal, and bring his division into its proper station: And this movement afterwards formed the grand charge against admiral Keppel. Having accomplished, by his motions, the protection of the disabled ships, he repeated his signals for the ships to come into his wake; but by some unfortunate repetition of the signal by the vice-admiral, it was not obeyed as Keppel intended. The vice-admiral of the blue still continuing to windward, a frigate was despatched to him, with express orders that he should bear down into admiral Keppel's wake; this produced no effect, and before another signal for these ships to take their station in the line could be obeyed, night came on, and interrupted all farther operations. On the return of day-light, the British fleet descried the French fleet at an immense distance, bearing for the port of Brest; and in a few hours they were entirely out of sight. The loss of men in the British ships amounted to 133 slain and 373 wounded. Private accounts from France estimated the loss at 2000 killed and wounded. Leaving a proper force for the protection of the homeward-bound fleets, admiral Keppel returned to Portsmouth to refit; but his public letter, containing an account of this transaction, occasioned great speculation—his desire to screen the misconduct of the admiral of the blue inducing him to give such a relation of this engagement as seemed to imply great impropriety of behaviour in the commander himself. For no reason whatever was assigned for not renewing the engagement in the afternoon, except the expectation of the admiral, “that the French would fight it out handsomely the next day.”

It was impossible, however, that the truth should not transpire; and a well-written letter appearing some time afterwards in the public prints, severely reflecting on the conduct of sir Hugh Palliser, that officer thought proper to require from the commander in chief a formal disavowal of the charges it contained, and a public justification of his character. This the commander absolutely and indignantly declined, and the vice-admiral immediately exhibited articles of accusation against admiral Keppel, for misconduct and neglect of duty on the 27th of July, although

though he had in the month of October a second time sailed with admiral Keppel, and had never before this so much as whispered a word to his prejudice.

The lords of the admiralty, to the astonishment of the nation, without the least hesitation, and even with apparent alacrity and satisfaction, fixed a day for the trial of the commander in chief; the result of which was in the highest degree honourable to that brave and injured officer, who was not only unanimously acquitted by the court-martial, but received the thanks of both houses of parliament for his services. Sir Hugh Palliser afterwards demanded a court-martial upon himself, which terminated in a slight censure only; but the resentment of the public was so great, that it was deemed expedient by the ministers to *accept* his successive resignations of his place at the board of admiralty, his lieutenant-generalship of marines, his government of Scarborough Castle, and to *permit* him to vacate his seat in the house of commons. The acquittal of admiral Keppel was celebrated with illuminations and rejoicings in all parts of the kingdom; and the houses of lord Sandwich and sir Hugh Palliser were insulted by the populace, and the demolition of them with difficulty prevented.

The ready acquiescence of the board of admiralty in the appointment of the court-martial, on a charge so grossly invidious and unjust, gave the highest disgust to the officers of the navy. A strong memorial was presented to his majesty on the subject by the duke of Bolton, signed by twelve admirals, with the venerable Hawke at their head, stating to his majesty, in strong colours, the ruinous consequences which the precedent now introduced would inevitably bring upon all naval service and discipline. "If," said these gallant defenders of their country, "we had conceived that this board had no legal use of their reason in a point of such delicacy and importance, we should have known on what terms we served; but we never did imagine it possible that we were to receive orders from, and be accountable to, those who by law were reduced to become mere passive instruments to the possible ignorance, malice, or treachery of any individual,

who might think fit to disarm his majesty's navy of its best and highest officers. We conceive it to be disrespectful to the laws of our country, to suppose them capable of such manifest injustice and absurdity."

CHAP. XIV.

Meeting of parliament—Debates on the manifesto of the commissioners—Affairs of Ireland—Votes of censure moved on lord Sandwich—Return of the Howes—Debates thereon—Spaniards declare war—Regulation of militia—Parliament prorogued—War in East Indies—In America—Descent on Virginia—Capture of Stony Point—British attack South-Carolina—Repulsed at Charlestown—Proceedings of French fleet—Siege of Savannah by the French and Americans—Siege raised—Capture of the British settlements on the coast of Africa by the French.

[A. D. 1778, 1779.]

THE accession of a new enemy seemed almost to obliterate from the minds of the people every reflection which their previous disasters had produced on the wretched state to which the gross improvidence and incapacity of ministry had reduced them in the American war; and either from the hopelessness of the contest on the continent of America, or from resentment against the court of France, all thoughts of the reduction of the former seemed to be given up by the tories themselves. The principal topic of conversation throughout England during the recess of parliament was the contest between the admirals Keppel and Palliser, and the expected trial of the former. While this was in agitation, the parliament assembled on the 26th of November. It was remarkable that in the speech from the throne, no mention whatever was made of the war in America. His majesty complained loudly of the unprovoked aggression of the court of France, which had not forbore to disturb the public tranquillity, in violation of

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of the faith of treaties, and the *rights* of *sovereigns*, at first by the clandestine supply of arms, &c. to the American rebels, and afterwards by openly entering into engagements with the leaders of the rebellion; by committing hostilities and depredations; and by an invasion of his majesty's *dominions* in *America*, and the West Indies. His majesty expressed also his regret that the efforts which had been made for disappointing the malignant designs of the enemy had not been attended with all the success which the justice of the cause, and the vigorous exertions that had been made, seemed to promise.

In the course of the debates on the address from the house of commons, an amendment was proposed, inquiring "by what fatal councils, and unhappy systems of policy, this country had been reduced to her present situation." The arguments of opposition, in favour of this amendment, tended to demonstrate the incapacity of the ministers for the purposes of conducting the war, and their inconsistency in every step of its progress. The friends of ministry declined entering into any discussion of the old subjects, confining their speeches to a defence of their management of our naval force, and the evacuation of Philadelphia. One of the commissioners, however, who had returned some time before the meeting of parliament, gave his opinion for continuing the system of coercion, and accompanying concession with force; adding, that he believed two thirds of the people of America were desirous to return to their connexion with Great Britain, but were deterred by a surrounding army, and the diffidence they had in the support of government; and that the retreat of the army from Philadelphia occasioned the failure of the conciliatory plans. The amendment was rejected by a majority of 227 to 107. In the house of lords, the peers in opposition proposed no amendment, but condemned the whole in all its parts. The majority in favour of the address was 67 to 35 who proposed a total negative upon the whole.

Mr. Coke moved for an address to his majesty, expressing that the sense of the house was directly against those exceptionable passages in the maledictory manifesto of the American commissioners, which were inconsistent with

with that humanity and generous courage, that at all times have distinguished the British nation; subversive of the maxims which have been established among christians, and civilized communities; derogatory to the dignity of the crown of this realm; tending to debase the spirit and subvert the discipline of his majesty's armies, and to expose his innocent subjects, in all parts of his dominions, to cruel and ruinous retaliations, In defence of this motion the employment of the Indians, and converting English soldiers into assassins, degrading the profession of arms, and exchanging the humane temper of Britons for the blood thirsty minds of Cherokees, were severely reprobated; and it was alleged, that no peace could originate from ministers who had thus levelled those distinctions that elevated the character of Britain, and had precluded every idea of pacification by cruel and irritating provocations. They, on the other hand, asserted that the declaration in question merely went to warn the Americans of their danger in persisting in a revolt, and in an unnatural connexion with France; and that they should be no longer considered as fellow-subjects, but as part of the French nation. They disclaimed every idea of barbarity in the conduct of the war. But to this opposition answered, that the words of the manifesto were plain, that the war was now to be conducted with a degree of rigour hitherto unknown—"they had hitherto refrained from the extremes of war and the desolation of the country." In this assertion opposition were powerfully seconded by one of the commissioners, who, although he defended the measure, declared that the proclamation did mean a war of desolation, and could mean nothing else. General Burgoyne also powerfully attacked the American secretary, and declared that no good was to be expected from that quarter while he continued in office. Lord George Germaine answered, that he had always acted according to the best of his judgment. The proposed address was rejected by a majority of 209 to 122.

A similar motion was made in the house of lords by the marquis of Rockingham, "expressing the displeasure of the house at the manifesto issued under the seal of the Ameri-

can commissioners on the 3d day of October last; and to acquaint his majesty with the sense of this house, that the said commissioners had no authority whatsoever under the act of parliament, in virtue of which they were appointed, to make such declaration; and humbly beseeching that the said manifesto be publicly disavowed by his majesty." The noble mover, in the course of an able and excellent speech, addressed himself to the bishops in a manner peculiarly striking. He observed that "the nature and principle of the war were entirely changed. The right reverend bench, relying on the assurances of ministers, might originally have believed his motives honourable, and its object easily attainable; but the same ministers now declared to all the world, that a total new system of policy was adopted, America was relinquished, and a new species of war denounced, tending merely and avowedly to revenge, slaughter, and universal destruction. The simple votes of their lordships on this occasion would at once fully express their detestation of the inhuman system in question, and, in conjunction with those of the temporal lords, who entertained the same sentiments, would fully obviate its effects." After a vehement debate, in which the ministers endeavoured, as in the commons, to palliate what none dared explicitly to defend, the motion was negatived by a majority of 71 to 37 peers, 31 of whom joined in a protest of uncommon energy and ability. "The public law of nations," said their lordships, "in affirmance of the dictates of nature and the precepts of religion, forbids us to resort to the extremes of war upon our own opinion of their expediency, or in any case to carry on war for the purpose of desolation. We are shocked to see the first law of nature, 'self-preservation,' perverted and abused into a principle destructive of all other laws. Those objects of war which cannot be compassed by fair and honourable hostility, ought not to be compassed at all. An end that has no means but such as are unlawful, is an unlawful end." Among the names recorded on this occasion, we find that of the venerable Shipley, bishop of St. Asaph, with a long and illustrious train of signatures affixed to this memorable protest; which, if it wanted any other

other recommendation to notice than its own intrinsic merit, might with pride recount the names of Rockingham, Camden, Effingham, and Harcourt.

In the month of February, sir Philip Jennings Clerk made another vain attempt to disqualify contractors from sitting in the house. The motion was carried upon a division by a majority of 158 to 143; but on the second reading, the bill was lost upon the motion of referring it to a committee; the question was rejected by a majority of 41; and the minister moved that it might be deferred for four months, which was carried, and the bill consequently lost. In a few days after, it was moved that the house should resolve itself into a committee, in order to consider of granting further relief to protestant dissenting ministers and school-masters. Some of the bigotted Tories opposed this toleration, but without effect, as the bill, framed for the purpose, was carried through both houses with facility.

A subject of still greater difficulty next presented itself to the legislature, and that was the grievances of Ireland. The complaints from that country became every day louder. Besides the losses sustained from the American war, and the ancient restraints upon their commerce, an embargo had been continued from the year 1776. Their beef and butter were perishing in their warehouses, and their linen trade contracted to almost nothing. The embargo had answered no beneficial purpose. The want of Irish provisions had not retarded the armaments of the French, and their West India islands were supplied on as good terms as our own islands with many articles. In the northern parts of Germany, and other countries adjoining to the Baltic, the traders had begun their trade of curing and packing beef, and had sent considerable quantities of it to French markets; and although they had as yet made but slow progress in the art, it was evident they soon would take it entirely from the Irish, who did not scruple to affirm that the cause of the embargo was merely the avarice of contractors. Added to these complaints, it was found that the rents in Ireland had been very much increased. The people were poor and destitute of employment;

ployment; and although about 20,000 of them had received relief from charitable donations and subscriptions in Dublin, yet this was of small avail to the remedying of the general and growing evil. Lord Newhaven, in concert with other members of the house of commons, showed in strong terms that necessity ought now to impel us to the preservation of what remained of our empire; that, however loyal the Irish had proved hitherto, yet there were bounds to which it would be both cruel and unjust to drive them; and if we should remain their masters by a continuance of griping tyranny, as soon as a peace was established, they would emigrate to America, and transport to that country those manufactures, arts, and industry, from which this country reaped undeniable advantages. The exports from England to Ireland, on an average of ten years, amounted to 2,057,000*l.* yearly. The exports from Ireland to England, upon an average of the same time, did not exceed 1,353,000*l.* annually, so that the balance of trade in favour of England exceeded seven millions sterling in that time. This was exclusive of the immense sums drawn from that country every year, under the heads, of rents to absentees, pensions, and the emoluments of places to those who never saw the country; appeals in law and equity; business and pleasure. The decrease of the exports from England to Ireland during the last two years, amounted upon an average to no less than 716,000*l.* per annum.

On the other side, it was alleged, that even if the distresses of Ireland were so great as were represented, it was not owing so much to the trade laws here, as to mal-administration there; and to faults in the internal constitution of their government; that if Ireland had suffered from the American war, England had suffered much more; and while gentlemen were apprehensive of a rebellion in Ireland, they should reflect on the much more dangerous consequences of one in England, which we had just cause to dread if any addition was made to the distresses of our manufacturers. Influenced by these and similar arguments, and the remonstrances of some trading

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towns, the motion for opening the trade of Ireland to the West Indies was lost by a majority of four.

Little business of importance was transacted in parliament till the month of April, when Mr. Fox made a third attempt towards a vote of censure against lord Sandwich, moving for an address to the throne that his majesty would be pleased to remove the earl of Sandwich from his majesty's presence, councils, and service, on account of misconduct in his office, as first commissioner of the admiralty, and of the general ill state of the navy at the most critical seasons, under his administration. The principal argument against this motion was, that as a distinct negative had been passed on each allegation upon which the motion was founded, the house could not now assent to a motion not established by facts. Mr. Fox replied, that although the censure might not result from any one charge taken separately, it certainly did from the whole. The neglect of reinforcing lord Howe, and of our trade and fortresses in the Mediterranean, with the more palpable negligence in the month of June last, taken together, would certainly form just cause of censure. There was little reason to expect that a man who had shown himself on every occasion so incapable of the duties of his office, would be a proper person to extricate the nation from the disgraceful difficulties in which he had involved it. The loss of many brave officers, and the general discontents created in the navy, were charges of a nature too important to be easily evaded, and were of themselves sufficient causes of removal. After a long debate, in which the conduct of lord Howe and admiral Keppel furnished considerable matter for distraction of public opinion, the motion was rejected by 221 to 118.

In the house of lords, the earl of Bristol moved an address to the king, similar to that of Mr. Fox, for the removal of the earl of Sandwich. His lordship supported this motion in a speech, containing a very extensive display of political and professional knowledge. This nobleman affirmed, "that about seven millions more money had been allotted for the support and increase of our navy during

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during the last seven years, than in any former equal period; and that, during this time, the decrease and decline of the navy had been in an inverse ratio to the excess of the expenditure. While such has been the unbounded liberality of parliament; what, exclaimed the noble lord, is become of our navy? or, if there is no navy, what is become of our money?" The motion was rejected by 78 voices to 39. Notwithstanding these repeated acquittals however, the reputation of lord Sandwich most deservedly suffered in the estimation of the public.

Twenty-five lords united in a protest against these proceedings, and one was entered on the journals by the earl of Bristol himself, from which the following appear to be the grounds of accusation. Since the year 1771, 6,917,872l. had been granted for naval purposes, more than was granted in an equal number of years, between 1751 and 1759, for the use of the navy, although we had been four years at war with France within that period. The navy was reduced from what it was in 1771, when lord Sandwich succeeded to the head of that board, notwithstanding the immense sums granted for its support and increase since that time. No fleet was sent out to watch the motions of the Toulon fleet, nor any reinforcement sent to lord Howe, upon intelligence of the said Toulon fleet. Admiral Keppel, with twenty sail of the line, was sent off Brest, when the commissioners of the admiralty knew, or ought to have known, that the French fleet then actually at Brest, and fitting for sea, consisted of thirty-two ships of the line. For want of reinforcement or instructions sent to admiral Barrington, the valuable island of Dominica was lost; and, no naval force having been sent to Africa, we had lost Senegal; and lastly, the admiralty, without any deliberation whatsoever, precipitately ordered a court-martial upon a commander in chief, of great rank and character, thereby frustrating the salutary intentions of that discretionary power, lodged by the constitution in the lords commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain, whereby all malicious and ill-founded charges (by whomsoever exhibited)

bited) may be avoided, and the union and discipline of the service not interrupted.

The return of lord and general Howe excited about this time considerable attention; and as their characters had been covertly attacked by ministers, who wished to excuse their own misconduct by throwing the blame upon the commanders, they, as well as general Burgoyne, earnestly solicited a parliamentary inquiry. The minister, on the contrary, endeavoured to avoid all inquiry whatever, and insisted that parliament was not the place where it should be instituted. To this it was answered, that the conduct of ministers and that of commanders were too fatally connected in this war, and that the plans and the means must be examined together. To deny the competence of the house to institute this inquiry, was a daring violation of the privileges of parliament. On this occasion sir William Howe proposed that earl Cornwallis should be examined, "as to the general conduct of the American war; to military points generally and particularly." To this the minister instantly proposed an amendment, "That lord Cornwallis be called in and examined relative to general and particular military points, touching the general conduct of the American war." Nothing could excite greater indignation than this evasion of inquiry and truth; but on a division, the minister carried his amendment by 189 to 155. The main question being then put was rejected by 180 to 158. Thus all inquiry appeared at an end; but opposition were determined not to let it perish in this manner; they renewed the motion for the examination of lord Cornwallis, a few days after, and were so ably supported, that no means employed by the minister were sufficient to prevent the hearing of that noble lord. Besides lord Cornwallis, major-general Grey, sir Andrew Snape Hammond, with others, were examined, and the following facts resulted from their evidence. The force sent to America was at no time equal to the subjugation of the country, which proceeded partly from the aversion of the people to the government of Great Britain, and partly from the nature of the country, which obstructed many

many military operations. Several other local points were established, which tended to a refutation of the charges brought against the commander in chief. It was, at the same time, proved that the American minister had been constantly reminded of the difficult and impracticable nature of the war, that he had discredited what was said on the subject, and had not sent out the necessary supplies, and that the reinforcement he at length had sent, came too late for any effectual purpose.

After a variety of facts tending to the defence of the commander in chief, and the censure of the American secretary, had been established, evidence was moved to be heard on the other side. The opposition at first reprobated the design of bringing up American refugees, pensioners and custom-house officers, to impeach and set aside the evidence of military men of high rank and great professional knowledge. This objection being over-ruled, orders were issued for the attendance of general Robertson, general Jones, John Maxwell, and others. During the time that intervened between the calling and appearance of these gentlemen, evidence was heard on the part of general Burgoyne. The officers examined were sir Guy Carleton, the earl of Balcarrias, captain Money, the earl of Harrington, major Forbes, captain Bloomfield, and lieutenant-colonel Kingston; all of whom, excepting the first, were present during the whole campaign. This evidence tended most clearly to acquit the general of every suspicion of misconduct, and to establish his character as an officer of the first abilities, and peculiarly the favourite of his army. Whether the general's orders for proceeding to Albany were peremptory or conditional, was still a matter of opinion: But two assertions were manifestly disproved, *viz.* that general Philips at the time of the convention offered to force his way, with a part of the army, from Saratoga back to Ticonderoga; and that the late general Frazer had disapproved the passing Hudson's river.

This examination being closed, the witnesses, brought in opposition to those examined on the part of sir William Howe, now attended. Their evidence tended to establish

the most absurd of all assertions, that a great majority (two thirds, or four fifths) of the people were attached to the British government, and that the force sent out was entirely competent to have brought the war to a speedy conclusion; That the country of America did not afford any extraordinary obstructions to military operations; that the rebel force was always inferior to the reports spread concerning it. The particular manœuvres of general Howe were reprobated by some of the witnesses, particularly one of the name of Galloway, who had been a lawyer in America, and a member of congress, and who had come over to general Howe at a time when the American cause was apparently ruined. In consequence of the charges which this person laid against sir William Howe, that commander requested that a particular day should be appointed on which he might bring witnesses to prove the falsity of the assertions; but this was refused, and the committee was dissolved on the 29th of June, without coming to a single resolution on all the important matter which had been submitted to them.

While such were the disgraceful proceedings of the commons, the duke of Richmond was engaged in strenuously promoting an inquiry into the abuses of Greenwich hospital in the house of lords. The rejection of the inquiry through the influence of the execrable Sandwich and the other ministers, is perhaps the best proof that could be adduced that the complaint was well founded.

These debates on domestic affairs were interrupted by the announcement of the Spanish manifesto declaring war against Britain, and which was introduced by a royal message, June 17, 1779. As this event had been repeatedly foretold by the minority, and all along treated with contempt by the ministry, it is not to be supposed but the verification of these predictions must now produce the most severe reproaches on those who had despised them. They were indeed reminded with great severity of their obstinacy, blindness, and absurdity; of the contempt with which they had treated every warning of danger, the triumph which they had constantly expressed at the folly and ignorance of opposition for entertaining such ideas. Spain, said

said the ministry, could have no interest in joining our enemies: They had colonies of their own, and would never set such an ill example to them, as to assist our rebellious colonists. Nay, those ministers, whose daily conduct proved them to be incapable of managing their own affairs with any degree of propriety, had the matchless effrontery of setting themselves up as statesmen and politicians for the house of Bourbon, and of knowing the interests of France and Spain better than they did themselves.

All these heavy charges, however, were disregarded. A resolution was taken to oppose this new enemy as well as the others, and at the same time never to submit to the idea of American independence. As the national danger was now undeniably very great, it was proposed by the minister to increase the militia to double its number. To this the opposition consented; though they considered it as probably impracticable, or even dangerous, from the apprehensions they had of its being violently opposed by the people at large; and that, along with several other causes of objection, it would in its effect go to the annihilation of the regular or standing army, in cutting off its usual and only means of supply from the recruiting service. The raising of new regiments appeared to them to be vastly preferable; and they severely reprov'd ministers for the continuance of that wretched system of policy which had hitherto led them to reject with indifference, and even contempt, the liberal and patriotic offers made by several of the peers in opposition for raising regiments at their private expense for the defence of their country. But that narrow predilection in favour of men of a certain description, and particularly of the northern part of the island, was still predominant, and would continue while there was any thing either to bestow or to lose; and thus the duke of Rutland, the earl of Derby, and others of the oldest English nobility, the hereditary supporters of the throne and constitution, met with indifference or insult in their generous offers for the service and preservation of their country, in this season of peril and distress. It was observed, with great acrimony, on this occasion, that all these generous and disinterested offers came from such as

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ministry had stigmatized with the title of leaders or partizans of faction, and who were constantly represented as enemies to government; whilst not one of those who had grown rich in her spoils, or great in her ruin, whether ministers, contractors, court favourites, or king's friends, had offered to raise a single man, or to expend a shilling in its defence.

As the minister did not profess any attachment to this particular mode of defence, a great variety of amendments were proposed. The only one of any consequence, however, which was carried through, was for the raising of voluntier companies, to be attached to the militia regiments of the county or district to which they belonged; and for this purpose the lord-lieutenants of counties were empowered to grant commissions to officers, as high as the rank of lieutenant-colonel, in proportion to the number of men they were able to procure. But when the committee had sat on this subject till midnight, the house was no sooner resumed, than they were surprised by the introduction of a new bill of another nature. This was to take away, for a limited time, the legal exemptions from being pressed on board the navy, which several descriptions of men and apprentices belonging to the sea, or in some degree to maritime affairs, had hitherto enjoyed; and also for suspending, for a time, the right of suing out a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, for such breaches of these exemptions as had already taken place from the 17th of that month, or as might still take place before the final ratification of the bill.

Such an extraordinary proposal, militating so strongly against the liberty and security of the subject, was severely censured. The manner of bringing it forward indeed, at so late an hour, and in a very thin house, became a subject of complaint even more than the proposal itself, which was likewise condemned upon many accounts, but particularly for being a breach of faith between the legislature and the people, which should ever be held most sacred. All this, however, was justified on the plea of necessity; and the time of bringing it in was said to be chosen on purpose for the greater secrecy and despatch, and to pre-

vent the effect of the bill from being defeated by the knowledge of its design, which the public prints would have spread through the whole nation. The measure itself was justified upon the ground already mentioned, and the proposer remarked, that he could not avoid being astonished at the horror which was now expressed with respect to compulsion, when they were but newly risen from a committee wherein they had been for ten hours engaged in framing a compulsive law whereby arms would be forced into the hands of 30,000 men contrary to their inclination.

The militia bill, like all others proposed by ministry, was easily carried through the house of commons; but in that of the lords, it not only met with a vigorous opposition from the adverse party, but was even much more coolly received by the friends of government themselves than might have been expected. Neither were the lords-lieutenants of counties in general at all satisfied with the bill. In this state of things, the question being at length put, Whether the clause empowering his majesty to order the militia to be augmented to double its present number, should stand as part of the bill? it was carried in the negative by 39 to 22. In this debate it was remarkable, that the lord president of the council, and both secretaries of state, voted against the compulsory principle of the bill.

Lord North could not conceal his chagrin, nor his dissatisfaction with the conduct of his colleagues. A new question, however, now arose, which produced a considerable debate: For the militia being considered by several members as a money-bill, they insisted, that no amendment of the lords could be admitted, without a surrender of their own most valuable and peculiar privilege; for which reason the bill ought now to be totally rejected. But the minister, considering that it was absolutely incumbent on him to do something which might at least have the appearance of regarding the public defence and security, determined in the present instance to overlook the point of privilege. After many ingenious arguments on both sides, therefore, the bill was carried by a majority of 63 to 45.

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The parliament was not prorogued till the 3d of July. In the speech, most cordial thanks were returned for the many great and essential services parliament had rendered to his majesty and their country, during the course of their long attendance. Approbation was bestowed on the zeal which they had manifested in the support of the just and necessary war in which he was engaged, and of the attention which they had paid to the state of Ireland. The events of war had offered the court of France no reason to triumph on the consequences of their injustice and breach of public faith; and it was trusted, that by spirited and prosperous exertions, that ambitious power might be brought to wish that they had not, without provocation or cause of complaint, insulted the honour and invaded the rights of the crown. With respect to Spain, whatever colour might be attempted to be put upon the unjust proceeding of that court, his majesty was conscious that he had nothing to reproach himself with; the warmest acknowledgments were made, for those clear demonstrations of loyalty and affection to his person and government, which parliament had shown upon that occasion; and it was considered as a happy omen to the success of his arms, that the increase of difficulties served only to augment the courage and constancy of the nation. It was said, that sufficient thanks could not be paid to the commons for the confidence they had reposed in him, and for the cheerfulness and public spirit, with which the large supplies for the year had been granted: It was impossible to speak of the continuance of the rebellion in North America, without the deepest concern; but parliament had given such unquestionable proofs of their sincere disposition to put an end to those troubles, that it was still hoped, that the malignant designs of the enemies of Great Britain could not long prevail against the evident interests of those unhappy provinces.

About the latter end of the preceding year hostilities had commenced in the East Indies. The East India company having formed a design of extirpating the French power in India, transmitted instructions for an attack upon Pondicherry. Major-general Munro, commander
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of the company's troops on the coast of Coromandel, about the 21st of August found his troops in sufficient strength for the siege, and immediately took possession of the bound-hedge, within cannon-shot of the fortifications, by which all communication with the country was cut off. Some unavoidable delays prevented the farther operations of the besiegers until the 6th and 7th of September, when they broke ground both on the north and south sides of the town. By this time their operations were greatly assisted by the English fleet under sir Edward Vernon, who had sailed from Madras at the end of July to block up Pondicherry. As soon as he arrived on his station he perceived a French fleet, under M. de Tronjolly, consisting of one ship of 64, one of 36, one of 32 guns, and two French East India ships armed. Sir Edward Vernon's fleet consisted of one 60, one 28, one 20 gun ship, a sloop, and an East Indiaman. An engagement ensued, and with so much loss to the French, that they dared not to hazard another, but abandoned Pondicherry, which now was blocked up both by sea and land. The garrison, under M. de Bellecombe, governor and general commandant of all the French settlements in India, made a brave defence. Before the middle of October, however, the artillery of the besiegers had gained so much superiority, that preparations were made for a general assault. On the day preceding, the governor, in order to save useful lives, and prevent bloodshed without advantage or honour, offered to capitulate. The conditions were generous, and agreeable to the conquered. About 300 pieces of artillery, serviceable and unserviceable, fell into the hands of the victors, together with all public property; the private was secured to the owners. The company's troops, which amounted to 10,500 men, lost about 224 slain, and 693 wounded; the garrison, amounting to 3000, had 200 men killed, and 480 wounded.

The British army in America seem to have aimed at little more, during the campaign of 1779, in the states to the northward of Carolina, than distress and depredation. Having publicly announced their resolution of making

making "the colonies of as little avail as possible to their new connexions," they planned several expeditions on this principle.

One of these, consisting of both naval and land force, was committed to sir George Collyer and general Matthews, who made a descent on Virginia. On the 10th of May they sailed for Portsmouth, and on their arrival took possession of that defenceless town. The remains of Norfolk on the opposite side of the river, fell of course into their hands. The Americans burned some of their own vessels, but others were made prizes by the invaders. The British guards marched 18 miles in the night, and arriving at Suffolk by morning, proceeded to the destruction of vessels, naval stores, and of a large magazine of provisions, which had been deposited in that place. A similar destruction was carried on at Kemp's Landing, Shepherd's Gosport, Tanner's Creek, and other places in the vicinity. The frigates and armed vessels were employed on the same business along the margin of the rivers. Three thousand hogheads of tobacco were taken at Portsmouth. Every house in Suffolk was burnt except the church and one dwelling-house. The houses of several private gentlemen in the country shared the same fate. Above 130 vessels were either destroyed or taken. All that were upon the stocks were burned, and every thing relative to the building or fitting of ships, was either carried off or destroyed. The fleet and army, after demolishing Fort Nelson, and setting fire to the storehouses, and other public buildings in the dockyard at Gosport, embarked from Virginia, and returned with their prizes and booty safe to New-York, in the same month in which they had left it. This expedition into Virginia distressed a number of its inhabitants, and enriched the British forces, but was of no real service to the royal cause. It was presumed, that by involving the citizens in losses and distresses, they would be brought to reflect on the advantages of submitting to a power, against which they had not the means of defending themselves: But the temper of the times was unfavourable to these views. Such was the high-toned state of the American

rican mind, that property had comparatively lost its value. It was fashionable to suffer in the cause of independence; some hearty whigs gloried in their losses, with as much pride as others gloried in their possessions. The British, supposing the Americans to be influenced by the considerations which bias men in the languid scenes of tranquil life, and not reflecting on the sacrifices which enthusiastic patriotism is willing to make, proceeded in their schemes of distress: But the more extensively they carried on this mode of warfare, the more obstacles they created to the reunion of the empire. In about five weeks after the termination of the expedition to Virginia, a similar one was projected against the exposed margin of Connecticut. Governor Tryon was appointed to the command of about 2600 land forces, employed on this business, and he was supported by general Garth. The transports which conveyed these troops, were covered by a suitable number of armed vessels, commanded by sir George Collyer. On the 5th of July they proceeded from New-York by the way of Hell-Gate, and landed at East-Haven. The royal commanders issued an address to the inhabitants, in which they invited them to return to their duty and allegiance, and promised protection to all who should remain peaceably in their usual place of residence, except the civil and military officers of the government. It also stated “that their property lay still within the grasp of that power, whose lenity had persisted in its mild and noble efforts, though branded with the most unworthy imputation: That the existence of a single house on their defenceless coast, ought to be a constant reproof of their ingratitude: That they who lay so much in the British power, afforded a striking monument of their mercy, and therefore ought to set the first example of returning to their allegiance.”

One of the many addresses, from which the above extract is taken, was sent by a flag to colonel Whiting of the militia near Fairfield. The colonel was allowed an hour for his answer, but he had scarcely time to read it before the town was in flames. He nevertheless returned
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the following answer: "Connecticut having nobly dared to take up arms against the cruel despotism of Great Britain, and the flames having preceded the answer to your flag, they will persist to oppose to the utmost, the power exerted against injured innocence." The British marched from their landing to New-Haven. The town, on their entering it, was delivered up to promiscuous plunder, a few instances of protection excepted. The inhabitants were stripped of their household furniture and other moveable property. The harbour and water side was covered with feathers, which were discharged from opened beds. An aged citizen, who laboured under a natural inability of speech, had his tongue cut out by one of the royal army. After perpetrating every species of enormity, but that of burning houses, the invaders suddenly re-embarked, and proceeded by water to Fairfield. The militia of that place and the vicinity posted themselves at the court-house green, and gave considerable annoyance to them, as they were advancing, but soon retreated to the height at the back of the town. On the approach of the British the town was evacuated by most of its inhabitants. A few women remained, with the view of saving their property. They imagined that their sex would protect them; they also reposed confidence in an enemy who they knew had been formerly famed for humanity and politeness; but they bitterly repented their presumption. Parties of the royal army entered the deserted houses of the inhabitants, broke open desks, trunks, closets, and chests, and took every thing of value that came in their way. They robbed the women of their buckles, rings, bonnets, aprons, and handkerchiefs. They abused them with the foulest language, threatened their lives, and presented the bayonets to their breasts. A sucking infant was plundered of part of its clothing, while the bayonet was presented to the breast of its mother. Towards evening they began to burn the houses, which they had previously plundered. The women begged general Tryon to spare the town. Mr. Sayre, the episcopal minister, who had suffered for his attachment to the royal cause, joined the

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women in their requests, but their joint supplications were disregarded. They then begged that a few houses might be spared for a general shelter. This was at first denied; but at length Tryon consented to save the buildings of Mr. Burr and of Mr. Elliot, and also said, that the houses for public worship should be spared. After his departure on the next morning with the main body, the rear-guard, consisting of German yagers, set fire to every thing which Tryon had spared; but on their departure the inhabitants extinguished the flames, and saved some of the houses. The militia were joined by numbers from the country, which successively came to their aid, but they were too few to make effectual opposition.

The British, in this excursion, also burned East-Haven, and the greatest part of Green's farms, and the flourishing town of Norwalk. A considerable number of ships, either finished or on the stocks, with whale-boats, and a large amount of stores and merchandise, were destroyed. Particular accounts of these devastations were, in a short time, transmitted by authority to congress. By these it appeared that there were burnt at Norwalk two houses of public worship, 80 dwelling-houses, 87 barns, 22 stores, 17 shops, 4 mills, and 5 vessels; and at Fairfield two houses of public worship, 15 dwelling-houses, 11 barns, and several stores. There were at the same time a number of certificates transmitted to general Washington, in which persons of veracity bore witness on oath to various acts of brutality, rapine, and cruelty committed on aged persons, women, and prisoners. Congress, on receiving satisfactory attestation of the ravages of the British in this and other similar expeditions, on the 19th of July resolved, "To direct their marine committee to take the most effectual measures to carry into execution their manifesto of October 30th, 1778, by burning or destroying the towns belonging to the enemy in Great Britain or the West Indies;" but their resolve was never carried into effect.

Tryon, who was a civil governor as well as a general, undertook the justification of the measure on principles of policy. "I should be very sorry," said he, "if the destruction of these villages would be thought less recon-

cileable with humanity, than the love of my country, my duty to the king, and the laws of arms. The usurpers have professedly placed their hopes of severing the empire in avoiding decisive actions, upon the waste of the British treasures, and upon the escape of their own property during the protracting of the war. Their power is supported by the general dread of their tyranny and threats, practised to inspire a credulous multitude with a presumptuous confidence in our forbearance; I wish to detect the delusion." These devastations were the subject of an elegant poem, written on the spot a few days after by colonel Humphries.

While the British were proceeding in these desolating operations, general Washington was called upon for continental troops, but he could spare very few. He durst not detach largely, as he apprehended that one design of the British in these movements was to draw off a proportion of his army from West Point, to favour an intended attack on that important post. General Parsons, though closely connected with Connecticut, and though from his small force he was unable to make successful opposition to the invaders, yet instead of pressing general Washington for a large detachment of continental troops, wrote to him as follows: "The British may probably distress the country exceedingly by the ravages they will commit; but I would rather see all the towns on the coast of my country in flames, than that the enemy should possess West Point."

The inhabitants feared much more than they suffered. They expected that the whole margin of their country, 120 miles in extent, would suffer the fate of Fairfield and Norwalk. The season of the year added much to their difficulties, as the close attention of the farmers to their harvesting could not be omitted without hazarding their subsistence. These fears were not of long duration. In about ten days after the landing of the British troops, an order was issued for their immediate return to New-York. This they effected in a short time, and with a loss so inconsiderable, that in the whole expedition it did not exceed 150 men.

While the British were successfully making these desultory operations, the American army was incapable of covering the country. The former, having by means of their superior marine force the command of the numerous rivers, bays, and harbours of the United States, had it in their power to make descents where they pleased, with an expedition that could not be equalled by the American land forces. Had general Washington divided his army, conformably to the wishes of the invaded citizens, he would have subjected his whole force to be cut up in detail. It was therefore his uniform practice, to risque no more by way of covering the country than was consistent with the general safety.

His army was posted at some distance from British headquarters in New-York, and on both sides of the North River. The advance, consisting of 300 infantry and 150 cavalry, under the command of colonel Anthony Walton White, patrolled constantly, for several months, in front of the British lines, and kept a constant watch on the Sound and on the North River. This corps had several skirmishes with parties of the British, and was particularly useful in checking their excursions, and in procuring and communicating intelligence of their movements.

About this time, general Putnam, who had been stationed with a respectable command at Reading in Connecticut, when on a visit to his out-post at Horse Neck, was attacked by governor Tryon with about 1500 men. General Putnam had only a picket of 150 men, and two iron field-pieces without horses or drag-ropes. He, however, planted his cannon on the high ground, near the meeting-house, and by several fires retarded the advancing enemy, and continued to make opposition till he perceived the enemy's horse, supported by the infantry, were about to charge. General Putnam, after ordering the picket to provide for their safety, by retiring to a swamp inaccessible to horse, plunged down the precipice at the church. This is so steep as to have artificial stairs, composed of nearly one hundred stone steps, for the accommodation of foot passengers. The dragoons stopped short,

short, without venturing down the abrupt declivity, and before they got round the brow of the hill, Putnam was far enough beyond their reach; of the many balls that were fired at him, all missed except one, which went through his hat. He proceeded to Stamford, and having strengthened his picket with some militia, faced about and pursued governor Tryon on his return.

The campaign of 1779, though barren of important events, was distinguished by one of the most gallant enterprises on the part of the Americans which took place in the course of the war. This was the capture of Stony Point on the North River. General Wayne, who had the honour of conducting this enterprise, set out on the 15th of July at the head of a strong detachment of the most active infantry in the American army at noon, and completed a march of about 14 miles, over bad roads, by eight o'clock in the evening. The detachment being then within a mile and a half of its object, was halted and formed into columns. The general, with a few of his officers, advanced and reconnoitred the works. At half past eleven the whole moved forward to the attack. The van of the right, consisting of 150 volunteers under the command of lieutenant-colonel Fleury, advanced with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. These were preceded by 20 picked men, who were particularly instructed to remove the abbatis and other obstructions. The van of the left was led by major Stewart, and advanced with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. It was also preceded by a similar forlorn hope. The general placed himself at the head of the right column, and gave the most pointed orders not to fire, but to depend solely on the bayonet. The two columns directed their attacks to opposite points of the works, while a detachment engaged the attention of the garrison by a feint in their front. The approaches were more difficult than had been apprehended: The works were defended by a deep morass, which was also, at that time, overflowed by the tide. Neither the morass, the double row of abbatis, nor the strength of the works, damped the ardour of the assailants. In the face of a most tremendous fire of musketry,
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and of cannon loaded with grape-shot, they forced their way, at the point of the bayonet, through every obstacle, until both columns met in the centre of the works at nearly the same instant. General Wayne, as he passed the last abbatis, was wounded in the head by a musket ball, but nevertheless insisted on being carried forward, adding as a reason for it, "That if he died he wished it might be in the fort." Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, who led the forlorn hope, escaped unhurt, although the first lost 17 men out of 20, and the last nearly as many. The killed and wounded of the Americans amounted to 98. The killed of the garrison were 63, and the number of their prisoners 543. Two flags, two standards, 15 pieces of ordnance, and a considerable quantity of military stores, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The vigour and spirit with which this enterprise was conducted, was matter of triumph to the Americans. Congress gave their thanks to general Washington, "for the vigilance, wisdom, and magnanimity with which he had conducted the military operations of the States, and which were, among many other signal instances, manifested in his orders for the above enterprise." They also gave thanks to general Wayne, and ordered a medal, emblematical of the action, to be struck, and one of gold to be presented to him. They directed a silver one to be presented to lieutenant-colonel Fleury, and also to major Stewart. At the same time, they passed general resolutions in honour of the officers and men, but particularly designating lieutenant-colonel Fleury, major Stewart, lieutenants Gibbons and Knox: To the two latter, and also to Mr. Archer, the general's voluntier aid-de-camp, they gave the rank of captain. The clemency shown to the vanquished was universally applauded. Upon the capture of Stoney Point, the victors turned its artillery against Verplank's Point, and fired upon it with such effect, that the shipping in its vicinity cut their cables and fell down the river. As soon as the news of these events reached New-York, preparations were instantly made to relieve the latter post and to recover the former. It by no means accorded with the cautious prudence of general Washington, to risque an engage-

engagement for either or for both of them. He therefore removed the cannon and stores, destroyed the works, and evacuated the captured post. Sir Henry Clinton regained possession of Stoney Point, on the third day after its capture, and placed in it a strong garrison.

The successful enterprise of the Americans at Stoney Point was speedily followed by another, which equalled it in boldness of design. This was the surprise of the British garrison at Powles Hook, opposite to New-York, which was effected on July the 19th, by major Lee, with about 350 men. Major Sutherland the commandant, with a number of Hessians, got off safe to a small block-house on the left of the fort, but about 30 of his men were killed and 160 taken prisoners. The loss of the Americans was inconsiderable. Major Lee, in conformity to the orders he had received, made an immediate retreat, without waiting to destroy either the barracks or the artillery. Congress honoured him with their thanks, and ordered a medal of gold, emblematical of the affair, to be struck, and presented to him as a reward "for his prudence, address, and bravery." They also passed resolutions applauding his humanity, and expressing their high sense of the good conduct of his troops, and at the same time ordered a considerable donative in money to be distributed among them.

These advantages were more than counterbalanced, by an unsuccessful attempt made by the state of Massachusetts on a British post at Penobscot. Colonel Maclean, by the direction of Sir Henry Clinton, on the 16th of June landed with a detachment of 650 men from Halifax, on the banks of Penobscot River, in the eastern confines of New-England, and proceeded soon after to construct a fort in a well-chosen situation. This occasioned an alarm at Boston: And to counteract the establishment of the post, vigorous measures were resolved upon. That armed vessels, transports, and sailors, might be secured for an expedition, which was immediately projected for this purpose, an embargo for 40 days was laid by the state of Massachusetts on all their shipping. A considerable armament, consisting of 18 armed vessels besides transports, was fitted

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out with extraordinary expedition, and put under the command of commodore Saltonstall. The largest vessel in this fleet was the Warren of 32 guns, 18 and 12 pounders. The others varied from 24 to 12 guns. A body of land forces, commanded by general Lovel, embarked on this expedition. On the 25th of July, the American fleet, consisting of 37 sail, appeared off Penobscot. Colonel Maclean had four days before gained information of what was intended against him. This induced him to redouble his exertions in strengthening his fort, which was in an unfinished state. Two of the bastions were untouched: The remaining two were in no part above 4 or 5 feet high; the ditch was only about 3 feet deep; there was no platform laid, nor any artillery mounted. The American general, on his landing, summoned the colonel to surrender; which being refused, he proceeded, on the 28th of July, to erect a battery at the distance of 750 yards. A cannonading commenced, and was kept up for about a fortnight, but without any considerable effect. While the besiegers were making preparations for an assault, which they had in immediate contemplation, sir George Collyer appeared full in view, with a squadron for the relief of the garrison. He had sailed from Sandy Hook on hearing of the intended attack on colonel Maclean's party, and in about eleven days arrived in the river Penobscot. His marine force consisted of the *Raisonable* of 64 guns and five frigates. The Americans at first made a show of resistance, but they intended no more than to give the transports time to move up the river, that the troops might have an opportunity of landing and making their escape. The superior force and weight of metal of the *Raisonable* was irresistible, and the escape of the Americans was impracticable. A general flight on the one side, and a general chase on the other, took place. Sir George destroyed and took 17 or 18 armed vessels. The American soldiers and sailors had to return a great part of their way by land, and to explore their route through thick woods.

Though, however, the war was carried on for little more than distress or depredation in the northern states, the re-establishment of British government was seriously attempted

ed in Carolina and Georgia. After the reduction of Savannah, a great part of the state of Georgia was restored to the king's peace. The royal army in that quarter was strengthened by a numerous reinforcement from East-Florida, and the whole was put under the command of major-general Prevost. The force then in Georgia gave a serious alarm to the adjacent states. There were at that time but few continental troops in Georgia or South-Carolina, and scarcely any in North-Carolina, as during the late tranquillity in the southern states, they had been detached to serve in the main army commanded by general Washington. A body of militia was raised and sent forward by North-Carolina to aid her neighbours. These joined the continental troops, but not till they had retreated out of Georgia, and taken post in South-Carolina. Towards the close of the year 1778, general Lincoln, at the request of the delegates of South-Carolina, was appointed by congress to take the command of their southern army.

This consisted only of a few hundred continentals. To supply the deficiency of regular soldiers, a considerable body of militia was ordered to join him, but they added much more to his numbers than to his effective force.

They had not yet learned the implicit obedience necessary for military operations. Accustomed to activity on their farms, they could not bear the languor of an encampment. Having grown up in habits of freedom and independence, they reluctantly submitted to martial discipline. The royal army at Savannah being reinforced by the junction of the troops from St. Augustine, was in condition to extend their posts. The first object was to take possession of Port Royal, in South-Carolina. Major Gardiner, with two hundred men, being detached with this view, landed on the island; but general Moultrie, at the head of an equal number of Americans, in which there were only nine regular soldiers, attacked and drove him off it. This advantage was principally gained by two field-pieces, which were well served by a party of Charlestown militia artillery. The British lost almost all their officers. The Americans had eight men killed and 22 wounded; among the former, was lieutenant Benjamin

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min Wilkins, an artillery officer of great merit, and a citizen of distinguished virtue, whose early fall deprived a numerous family of their chief support. He was the first officer of South-Carolina who lost his life in supporting its independence. This repulse restrained the British from attempting any immediate enterprise to the northward of Savannah; but they fixed posts at Ebenezer and Augusta, and extended themselves over a great part of Georgia; they also endeavoured to strengthen themselves by reinforcements from the tories, in the western settlements of Georgia and Carolina.

Emissaries were sent among the inhabitants of that description, to encourage them to a general insurrection. They were assured that if they embodied and added their force to that of the king's army in Georgia, they would have such a decided superiority as would make a speedy return to their homes practicable, on their own terms. Several hundreds of them accordingly rendezvoused, and set off to join the royal forces at Augusta. Among those who called themselves loyalists, there were many of the most infamous characters. Their general complexion was that of a plundering banditti, more solicitous for booty than for the honour and interest of their royal master.

At every period before the war, the western wilderness of these states, which extended to the Mississippi, afforded an asylum for the idle or disorderly, who disrelished the restraints of civil society. While the war raged, the demands of militia duty and of taxes, contributed much to the peopling of those remote settlements, by holding out prospects of exemption from the control of government.

Among these people the royal emissaries had successfully planted the standard of royalty, and of that class was a great proportion of those, who, in the upper country of the Carolinas and Georgia, called themselves the king's friends. They had no sooner embodied and begun their march to join the royal army at Augusta, than they commenced such a scene of plundering of the defenceless settlements through which they passed, as induced the orderly inhabitants to turn out to oppose them. Colonel Pickens, with about 300 men of the latter character, immediately

ately pursued and came up with them near Kettle Creek. An action took place, which lasted three quarters of an hour; the tories were totally routed, about forty of them were killed, and in that number was their leader, colonel Boyd, who had been secretly employed by British authority to collect and head them. By this action the British were disconcerted; the tories were dispersed, some ran quite off, others went to their homes, and cast themselves on the mercy of their country. These were tried by the laws of South-Carolina, for offending against an act called the sedition act, which had been passed since the revolution for the security of the new government. Seventy of them were condemned to die, but the sentence was only executed on five of their ringleaders.

As the British extended their posts on the Georgia side of Savannah river, general Lincoln fixed encampments at Black Swamp, and nearly opposite to Augusta on the Carolina side. From these posts he formed a plan of crossing into Georgia, with the view of limiting the British to the low country, near the ocean. In the execution of this design, general Ash, with 1500 North-Carolina militia, and a few regular troops, after crossing the river Savannah, took a position on Briar Creek; but in a few days * he was surprised by lieutenant-colonel Prevost, who having made a circuitous march of about 50 miles, came unexpectedly on his rear with about 900 men. The militia were thrown into confusion, and fled at the first fire. One hundred and fifty of the Americans were killed, and 162 were taken. Few had any chance of escaping, but by crossing the Savannah, in attempting which many were drowned. Of those who got off safe, a great part returned home. The number that rejoined the American camp did not exceed 450 men. The few continentals under colonel Elbert made a brave resistance; but the survivors of them, with their gallant leader, were at last compelled to surrender. This event deprived general Lincoln of one fourth of his numbers, and opened a communication between

* May 3.

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the British, the Indians, and the tories of North and South Carolina.

The series of disasters which had followed the American arms since the landing of the British near Savannah, occasioned a well-founded apprehension for the safety of the adjacent states. The militia of South-Carolina was therefore put on a better footing, and a regiment of cavalry was raised. John Rutledge, a Carolinian of the most distinguished abilities, was called to the chair of government by an almost unanimous vote, and, in imitation of the ancient republic of Rome, invested, in conjunction with his council, with dictatorial powers. By virtue of his authority, he convened a large body of the militia near the centre of the state, that they might be in constant readiness to march whithersoever public service required. The original plan of penetrating into Georgia was resumed; part of the American force was stationed on the north side of the Savannah at Purrysburgh and Black Swamp, while general Lincoln and the main army crossed into Georgia near Augusta. General Prevost availed himself of the critical moment, when the American army had ascended 150 miles towards the source of the Savannah, and crossed into Carolina over the same river near to its mouth, with about 2400 men. A considerable body of Indians, whose friendship the British had previously secured, were associated with the British on this expedition. The superior British force which crossed Savannah River soon compelled general Moultrie, who was charged with the defence of South-Carolina, to retire. Lincoln, on receiving information of these movements, detached 300 of his light troops to reinforce Moultrie, but proceeded with the main army towards the capital of Georgia. He was induced to pursue his original intention, from an idea that general Prevost meant nothing more than to divert him by a feint on Carolina, and because his marching down on the south side of the river Savannah would occasion very little additional delay in repairing to its defence. When Lincoln found that Prevost was seriously pushing for Charlestown, he recrossed the Savannah and pursued him. The British
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proceeded in their march by the main road near the sea-coast, with but little opposition, and in the mean time the Americans retreated before them towards Charlestown. General Moultrie, who ably conducted this retreat, had no cavalry to check the advancing foe. Instead of his receiving reinforcements from the inhabitants, as he marched through the country, he was abandoned by many of the militia, who went to their homes; their families and property lay directly in the route of the invading army. The absence of the main army under Lincoln, the retreat of Moultrie, the plunderings and devastations of the invaders, and above all, the dread of the Indian savages which accompanied the royal army, diffused a general panic among the inhabitants. The terror of each individual became a source of terror to another. From the influence of these causes, many were induced to apply for British protection. New converts to the royal standard endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with their protectors, by encouraging them to attempt the reduction of Charlestown. Being in their power, they were more anxious to frame intelligence on the idea of what was agreeable, than of what was true. They represented the inhabitants as being generally tired of the war, and wishing for peace at all events. They also stated that Charlestown was incapable of much resistance. These circumstances, combined with the facility with which the British marched through the country, induced general Prevost to extend his plan and push for Charlestown. Had he designed it at first, and continued his march with the same rapidity with which it was begun, the town would probably have been carried by a coup-de-main; but he halted two or three days when advanced near half the distance. In that interval, every preparation was made by the South-Carolinians for the defence of their capital; all the houses in its suburbs were burnt; lines and abbatis were, in a few days, carried across the peninsula between Ashley and Cooper rivers, and cannon were mounted at proper intervals on its whole extent. Though this visit of the British, and especially an attack on the land side, was unexpected,

expected, yet in a few days great preparations were made, and a force of 3300 men assembled in Charlestown for its defence.

The main body and baggage of the British army, being left on the south side of Ashley river, an advanced detachment of 900 men, on the 11th of May, crossed the ferry, and appeared before the town. In the mean time Lincoln was marching on as fast as possible, for the relief of Charlestown; but as his arrival was doubtful, and the crisis hazardous, to gain time was a matter of consequence. A whole day was therefore spent in the exchange of flags. Commissioners from the garrison were instructed "to propose a neutrality during the war between Great Britain and America, and that the question whether the State shall belong to Great Britain, or remain one of the United States, be determined by a treaty of peace between these powers. The British commanders refused this advantageous offer, alleging that they did not come in a legislative capacity, and insisted that, as the inhabitants and others were in arms, they should surrender prisoners of war. This being refused, the garrison prepared for an immediate assault; but this was not attempted. Prevost, knowing by an intercepted letter that Lincoln was coming on in his rear, retreated from Charlestown, and filed off with his whole force from the main to the islands near the sea, that he might avoid being between two fires. Both armies encamped in the vicinity of Charlestown, watching each other's motions till the 20th of June, when an attack was made with about 1200 Americans, on 6 or 700 of the British, advantageously posted at Stono Ferry. The latter had redoubts, with a line of communication, and field-pieces in the intervals, and the whole was secured with an abatis. By a preconcerted plan, a feint was to have been made from James Island, with a body of Charlestown militia, at the moment when general Lincoln began the attack from the main; but from mismanagement, they did not reach their place of destination till the action was over. The attack was continued for an hour and twenty minutes, and the assailants had the advantage; but the appearance of a reinforcement, to pre-

vent which the feint from James Island was intended, made their retreat necessary. The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded was about 150. Among the former was colonel Roberts, an artillery officer of distinguished abilities. Having been bred to arms in his native country, England, he had been particularly serviceable in diffusing military knowledge among the less informed American officers. In the short interval between his being wounded and his dying, he was visited on the field of battle by his son captain Roberts, of his own regiment. The expiring father presented his sword to his son, with an exhortation to behave worthy of it, and to use it in defence of liberty and his country. After a short conversation he desired him to return to his proper station, adding for a reason, "that there he might be useful, but to him he could be of no service."

Immediately after this attack, the American militia, impatient of absence from their homes, returned to their plantations, and about the same time the British left the islands adjacent to Charlestown, retreating from one to another, till they arrived at Port Royal and Savannah. A considerable garrison was left at the former place under colonel Maitland, but the main body went to Savannah.

This incursion into South-Carolina contributed very little to the advancement of the royal cause, but added much to the wealth of the officers, soldiers, and followers of the British army, and still more to the distresses of the inhabitants. The forces under the command of general Prevost spread themselves over a considerable part of the richest settlements of the state, and where there were the fewest white inhabitants in proportion to the number of slaves. There was much to attract, and but little to resist the invaders. Small parties visited almost every house, and unopposed, took whatever they chose; they not only rifled the inhabitants of household furniture, but of wearing apparel, money, rings, and other personal ornaments. Every place, in their line of march, experienced the effects of their rapacity.

Soon after the affair at Stono, the continental forces under the command of general Lincoln retired to Sheldon,
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a healthy situation in the vicinity of Beaufort. Both armies remained in their respective encampments, till the arrival of a French fleet on the coast roused the whole country to immediate activity.

Count D'Estaing having repaired and victualled his fleet at Boston, on the 3d of November 1778 sailed for the West Indies; and on the same day commodore Hotham, with five men of war, a bomb vessel and some frigates, set out from New-York to convoy a number of transports with general Grant, and 5000 men, to the same theatre of naval operations.

On the 30th of December the British took St. Lucia, and count D'Estaing took St. Vincent's and Grenada. Soon after the reduction of the latter, the count retired to Cape François. Having, in July 1779, received instructions from the king his master, to act in concert with the forces of the United States, and being strongly solicited by general Lincoln, president Lownds, governor Rutledge, and Mr. Plombard, consul of France in Charlestown, he sailed for the American continent with expectation of rendering essential service in operating against the common enemy. On the 1st of September he arrived on the coast of Georgia, with a fleet consisting of twenty sail of the line, two of fifty guns, and eleven frigates. His appearance was so unexpected, that the Experiment man of war, of 50 guns, commanded by sir James Wallace, and three frigates, fell into his hands.

As soon as his arrival on the coast was known, general Lincoln, with the army under his command, marched for the vicinity of Savannah, and orders were given for the militia of Georgia and South-Carolina to rendezvous near the same place. The British were equally diligent in preparing for their defence; great numbers were employed both by day and night, in strengthening and extending their lines. The American militia, flushed with the hope of speedily expelling the British from their southern possessions, turned out with an alacrity which far surpassed their exertions in the preceding campaign. D'Estaing, before the arrival of Lincoln, demanded the surrender of the town to the arms of France. Prevost in his answer de-

clined surrendering on a general summons, and requested that specific terms should be proposed, to which he would give an answer. The count replied, that it was the part of the besieged to propose terms. Prevost then asked for a suspension of hostilities, for 24 hours, for preparing proper terms. This was inconsiderately granted. Before the 24 hours elapsed, lieutenant-colonel Maitland, with several hundred men who had been stationed at Beaufort, made their way good through many obstacles, and joined the royal army in Savannah. The garrison, encouraged by the arrival of so respectable a force, determined on resistance. The French and Americans, who formed a junction the evening after, were therefore reduced to the necessity of storming or besieging the garrison. The resolution of proceeding by siege being adopted, several days were consumed in preparing for it, and in the mean time the works of the garrison were hourly strengthened by the labour of several hundred negroes, directed by that able engineer major Moncrief. The besiegers on the 4th of October opened with nine mortars, thirty-seven pieces of cannon from the land side, and fifteen from the water. Soon after the commencement of the cannonade, Prevost solicited for leave to send the women and children out of town; but this was refused. The combined army suspected that a desire of secreting the plunder, lately taken from the South-Carolinians, was covered under the veil of humanity. It was also presumed that a refusal would expedite a surrender. On a report from the engineers that a considerable time would be necessary to reduce the garrison by regular approaches, it was determined to make an assault. This measure was forced on count D'Estaing by his marine officers, who had remonstrated against his continuing to risk so valuable a fleet on a dangerous coast, in the hurricane season, and at so great a distance from the shore, that it might be surprised by a British fleet, completely repaired and fully manned. In a few days the lines of the besiegers might have been carried into the works of the besieged; but under these critical circumstances, no farther delay could be admitted. To assault or raise the siege was the alternative; prudence would

would have dictated the latter, but a sense of honour determined the besiegers to adopt the former. Two feints were made with the country militia, and a real attack on Spring-Hill battery early in the morning of the 9th of October, with 3500 French troops, 600 continentals, and 350 of the inhabitants of Charlestown. These boldly marched up to the lines, under the command of D'Estaing and Lincoln; but a heavy and well-directed fire from the batteries, and a cross fire from the galleys, threw the front of their columns into confusion. Two standards were nevertheless planted on the British redoubts. A retreat of the assailants was ordered, after they had stood the enemies fire for 55 minutes. Count D'Estaing and count Pulaski were both wounded; the former slightly, but the latter mortally. Six hundred and thirty-seven of the French, and upwards of 200 of the continentals and militia, were killed or wounded. General Prevost, lieutenant-colonel Maitland, and major Moncrief, deservedly acquired great reputation by this successful defence. The force of the garrison was between 2 and 3000, of which about 150 were militia. The damage sustained by the beleagued was trifling, as they fired from behind works, and few of the assailants fired at all. Immediately after this unsuccessful assault, the militia, almost universally, went to their homes. Count D'Estaing reembarked his troops and artillery, and left the continent.

While the siege of Savannah was pending, a remarkable enterprise was effected by colonel John White of the Georgia line. Captain French had taken post with about 100 men near the river Ogechee, some time before the siege began. There were also at the same place forty sailors on board of five British vessels, four of which were armed. All these men, together with the vessels and 130 stand of arms, were surrendered to colonel White, captain Elholm, and four others, one of which was the colonel's servant. On the preceding night this small party kindled a number of fires in different places, and adopted the parade of a large encampment. By these and a variety of deceptive stratagems, captain French was fully impressed with an opinion that nothing but an instant

surrender, in conformity to a peremptory summons, could save his men from being cut to pieces by a superior force. He therefore gave up without making any resistance.

This visit of the fleet of his most christian majesty to the coast of America, though unsuccessful as to its main object, was not without utility to the United States. It disconcerted the measures already digested by the British commanders, and caused a considerable waste of time before they could determine on a new plan of operations. It also occasioned the evacuation of Rhode Island. But this was of no advantage to the United States; for of all the blunders committed by the British in the course of the American war, none was greater than their stationing near 6000 men, for two years and eight months, on that island, where they were lost to every purpose of co-operation, and where they could render very little more service to the royal cause, than could have been obtained by a couple of frigates cruizing in the vicinity.

The siege being raised, the continental troops retreated over the river Savannah. The vicissitudes of an autumnal atmosphere made a severe impression on the irritable fibres of men exhausted with fatigue and dejected by defeat. In proportion to the towering hopes with which the expedition was undertaken, was the depression of spirits subsequent to its failure. The Georgia exiles, who had assembled from all quarters to repossess themselves of their estates, were a second time obliged to flee from their country and possessions. The most gloomy apprehensions respecting the southern states took possession of the minds of the people.

During these transactions in America, the British settlements on the coast of Africa, Senegal, and the forts on the river Gambia, were taken by a French squadron, under M. de Lauzun.

CHAP. XV.

Alarm from the appearance of the combined fleet off the coast—Irish volunteers—Proceedings of the Irish parliament—Depredations of Paul Jones—Takes the Serapis—Engagement between the Quebec and Surveillante—Secret enmity between the States General and the English cabinet—Meeting of parliament—Debates on the address—Duel between Mr. Fox and Mr. Adam—Debates on Irish affairs—On expenses of the war—On army extraordinaries—Associations and petitions from York, &c.—Mr. Burke's plan of reform—Motions for commissioners of accounts—Motion relative to pensions—Progress of Mr. Burke's bill—Celebrated vote on the influence of the crown—Riots in London—Siege of Gibraltar—Admiral Langara defeated by Rodney—Charlestown taken—Impolitic proceedings of the English in Carolina—Americans rally—Gates defeated—Distresses of Americans—Predatory campaign in the North—Arrival of Rochambeau—Defection of general Arnold—André executed as a spy.

[A. D. 1779, 1780.]

THE summer of 1779 did not pass without considerable alarm even in England. A junction was formed between the French and Spanish fleets immediately after the delivery of the Spanish memorial. They entered the channel in the month of August, with 65 ships of the line, accompanied by a number of frigates and fireships. Sir Charles Hardy, who commanded the channel fleet, found himself in no condition to contend with an enemy which was greatly his superior in force, and was under the necessity of retiring, while the enemy's flag rode triumphant on the British coasts. As the port and harbour of Plymouth had been unaccountably neglected by the wretched ministry, who unhappily presided over the affairs of this country at that period, the greatest apprehensions were entertained for its safety. The count D'Orvilliers, the commander, was, however, ignorant either of the weak-
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ness of the place, or of the little force which England was able to bring against them. In their cruize they captured the Ardent man of war, of 64 guns, but attempted no farther enterprize; and by their return to Brest relieved the English nation from that cloud of apprehension by which their political atmosphere had been obscured.

While all was consternation and dismay in England, the Irish nation, happily for themselves and their posterity, were acting a more spirited, and, as it afterwards proved, a more politic part, though the danger was certainly more imminent to them than to the inhabitants of this island. To the absurd and frantic crusade against American liberty, the incompetent ministers of George III. had sacrificed every other consideration; and while the clouded faculties of lord Stormont had been completely diverted by the finesse of the French court from their real designs; he had wrapped himself up in his own importance; and satisfied with being permitted to treat the agents of America with arrogance and rudeness*, even upon occasions where humanity was interested, he continued to transmit to his masters the most unequivocal assurances of the pacific designs of France. Lulled into this dream of security, therefore, the ministry had withdrawn almost the whole of the troops from Ireland, and the country was left defenceless to any invader. Thus apparently abandoned by England, the Irish, at this formidable crisis, acted with an energy which reflects upon them the highest honour. Military associations were formed in every part of the kingdom, and an army of 50,000 volunteers started up at once, as by a miracle, like the armed men of Cadmus, well appointed and completely disciplined. It undoubtedly occurred to the leaders of the Irish nation in favouring this arrangement, that the same men who might be useful to defend the

* Upon an application from Dr. Franklin, and the other American commissioners, for a cartel to relieve the sufferings of the prisoners on both sides, the absurd and pompous reply of this *thing of silk and ribbands* was, "The king's ambassador receives no application from rebels, but when they sue for pardon!"

country from foreign attacks, might also serve to reclaim their own liberties; but this was a consideration too refined for the undiscriminating faculties of the English ministry; and instead of counteracting this rising spirit, they virtually encouraged it, and even furnished several of the corps with arms from the royal magazines. On the return of the combined fleet to Brest the apprehensions of the Irish subsided, but the volunteers did not disband; and the effect of this extraordinary combination was soon apparent in the proceedings of their parliament, which met on the 12th of October.—An amendment was then carried on the address proposed by ministry, insisting on a *free trade*; the thanks of both houses were voted to the volunteers, and a six months money bill passed to prevent a premature prorogation.

The empty triumph of the combined fleet was not the only instance in this campaign, in which the naval pride of Britain was mortified. Among a number of adventurers, which the desire of plunder called into action on the side of the Americans in this unfortunate war, one of the most remarkable both for courage and conduct was Paul Jones. He is said to have been by birth an Englishman, and being bred to the sea, continued the greater part of his life in an inferior station upon that element. Having arrived, by what means we are not informed, to the command of a small privateer in the service of the American states, in the preceding summer he had swept the whole Irish channel, and had even effected a landing at lord Selkirk's house in Scotland, not far from Dumfries. On his return to France he was furnished by some American and French adventurers with a larger vessel, which, in company with two others, appeared off the coast of Scotland in the month of September 1779. They steered directly up the Frith of Forth, and on the 17th were nearly opposite to Leith. His intention was supposed to have been to burn or destroy the shipping in that harbour, but he was prevented from attempting any thing by a strong west wind, which drove him down the Frith. Proper precautions were also taken to prevent his repeating the attempt with any probability of success. In one day

day three batteries were erected; two at the citadel in North Leith, and one near Newhaven, on which were mounted 30 cannon, besides carronades, howitzers, &c. Several prizes, however, were taken, some of which, after being plundered, were set adrift. From this coast, our adventurer sailed directly to that of Holland, where he fell in with the *Serapis* and *Countess* of Scarborough. A dreadful engagement ensued, the particulars of which are thus related by captain Pearson of the *Serapis*: The enemy's squadron consisted of two frigates and a two-decked ship. About twenty minutes after seven, the largest ship brought to within musket-shot, and an engagement immediately commenced, which was carried on with the utmost fury. The enemy at first endeavoured to board the *Serapis*; but being repulsed, after various manœuvres, the two ships became entangled with each other in such a manner that the muzzles of the guns touched each other's sides. In this situation the engagement continued for two hours, during which time, from the great quantity of burning matter thrown into the *Serapis*, she was on fire in different places no less than ten or twelve times, nor could it be extinguished without the utmost difficulty; at the same time that she was raked in the most dreadful manner by the frigate, fore and aft, so that almost every man on the quarter and main decks was killed or wounded. About half past nine, either from a hand-grenade thrown in at one of the lower deck ports, or from some other accident, a cartridge of powder was set on fire, the flames of which, running from cartridge to cartridge, at last blew up the whole of the people and officers on the main deck, rendering also the guns unserviceable on that part of the ship. At ten o'clock, the enemy called out for quarter, and said they had struck: But on captain Pearson inquiring into the truth of this circumstance, and no answer being made, he determined to board the enemy. On looking into her, however, they discovered a superior number, with pikes, ready to receive them, on which they instantly retreated into their own ship. The firing was then continued on both sides till half an hour after ten, when the frigate coming across the stern of the *Serapis*, poured a broadside
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into her; after which the captain finding it impracticable to continue the engagement any longer, struck his colours; the main-mast coming by the board at the same instant. The conquering vessel was in such distress that she sunk the next night.

In the month following another very desperate action took place. Captain Farmer of his majesty's ship *Quebec*, being on a cruize off Ushant, in company with the *Rambler* cutter, came up with, and closely engaged, a large French frigate called the *Surveillante*, mounting 40 guns; while the *Rambler* was engaged with a French cutter as superior in force as the French frigate was to the *Quebec*. The action on both sides was warm and bloody, from ten in the morning till two in the afternoon, when the French cutter set all the sail she could crowd, and bore away; but the *Rambler* being so disabled in her mast and rigging could not follow her with any hopes of coming up with her. The commander, therefore, seeing both the frigates dismasted, and the *Quebec* take fire, endeavoured to get as near the *Quebec* as possible, in hopes of saving some of her men; but there being but little wind, and a large swell, no other assistance could be afforded than by hoisting out the boat, which picked up one master's mate, two young midshipmen, and fourteen more of the *Quebec*'s people, the enemy's frigate at the same time firing at the boat. The *Quebec* continued burning very fiercely, with her colours flying, till six o'clock, when she blew up.

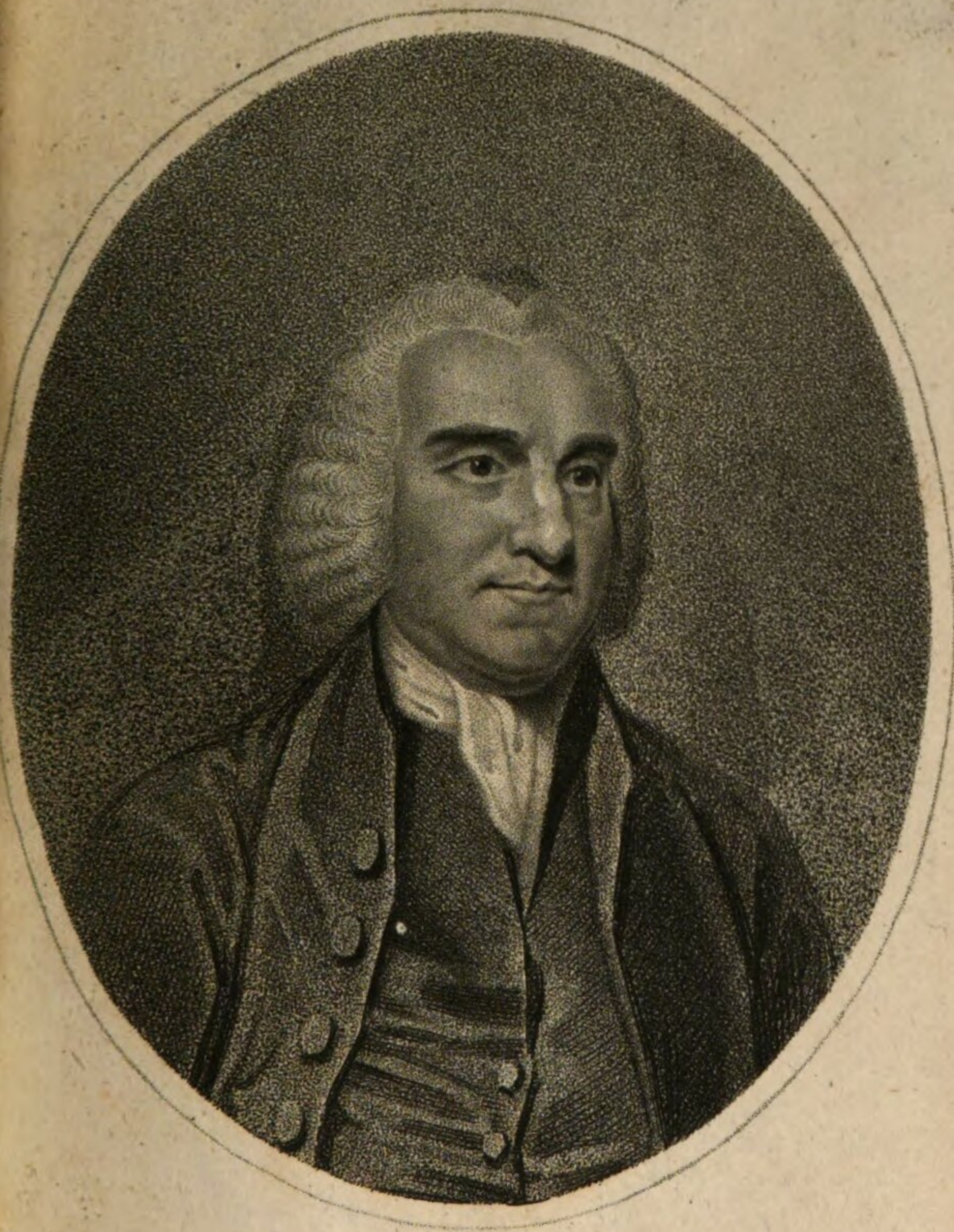
As Paul Jones had brought his prizes into the Texel, sir Joseph Yorke, with the same wisdom that characterized the rest of the administration, presented a memorial to the States of Holland, demanding the surrender of him as a *pirate*. The States, with their usual prudence, declined all interference in the disputed question of American independence. But their refusal on this occasion is generally supposed to have implanted the seeds of enmity deeply in the minds of the British cabinet, and to have determined a ministry, which appears to have been uniformly actuated by no principle but that of a puerile revenge, to embrace the first opportunity of a rupture with the States General.

Previous

Previous to the meeting of parliament, a partial change took place in administration. Lord Stormont, who had evinced such *profound* diplomatic abilities during his embassy to Paris, and who had been so *correct* and *early* in his information to ministers of the proceedings of the court of Versailles, was promoted to the office of secretary of state in the room of the earl of Suffolk, deceased. Lord Weymouth resigned, as was supposed in disgust, and was succeeded in his department by the earl of Hillsborough. Earl Bathurst was made president of the council in the room of earl Gower, who also was supposed to resign in disgust; and the great seal was transferred to the hands of Mr. Thurlow, late attorney general, but who on the occasion was, as usual, created a peer, by the title of baron Thurlow; he was certainly a man of ability, but his talents by all parties have been greatly over-rated.

Some offence was taken by the people of Scotland at the act which had been passed in favour of the Roman catholics, and some alarming riots ensued in Edinburgh and Glasgow, in which the mass-houses were pulled down, as well as several dwelling-houses. These, however, were only the preludes to the melancholy scene, which we shall have presently to describe.

The British parliament assembled on the 25th November.—His majesty, in his speech to the two houses, began with the usual complaints concerning the *unjust* and *unprovoked* war, in which the nation was engaged, and the dangerous confederacy formed against the *crown* and people of Great Britain. By the blessing of *Providence*, he said, the attempts of the enemy to invade the kingdom had been frustrated; and though they still continued to menace us with great armaments and preparations,—“I know,” added his majesty, “the character of my brave people; the menaces of their enemies, and the approach of danger, have no effect on their minds, but to animate their courage, and to call forth that national spirit, which has so often checked and defeated the projects of ambition and injustice, and enabled the British fleets and armies to protect their own country, to vindicate their own rights, and at the same time to uphold and preserve



LORD THURLLOW.

preserve the liberties of Europe from the restless and encroaching power of the house of Bourbon." After observing that the state of Ireland had been attended to, it was recommended to consider what further benefits and advantages might be extended to that kingdom. The usual regret was expressed for the unavoidable increase of the supplies; but no notice whatever was taken of the affairs of America, or the West Indies, or any part of the campaign.

The motions for addresses, in both houses, produced great debates, in which opposition delivered their sentiments with unusual confidence, and pointed their censures with great skill. They reprobated that ruinous system of government which had debilitated and disgraced this country, and which was particularly aggravated by its support from a secret combination. The influence of this combination was visible in every department of our executive services, and had altered the character both of our armies and navies; and the futility of our councils seemed to vie with the contempt bestowed by all the world on our arms.

In descending to particulars, the powers of language were in a manner exhausted, while they set forth the deplorable situation of the nation, owing to the system already mentioned. Those officers, they said, civil and military, who were by their merit placed highest in the confidence and esteem of their country, were the marked objects of a mean revenge. Our great naval and military commanders were driven from the service; and, in the moment of difficulty and danger, the state was robbed of its best and surest defence. Thus our fleets and armies were either languishing in discontent, or torn to pieces by dissension, and the spirit of enterprise sunk under the benumbing conviction, that whatever honour or advantage might be achieved by brave and hardy service abroad, must inevitably perish under the fatal and malignant influence which prevailed at home.

The general terror which the parade of the combined fleets of France and Spain in the channel had this year occasioned throughout the southern coasts of England, added fresh force to the objections of opposition. It was

reserved, said they, for the present inauspicious and disgraceful æra, for the administration of those men who had severed the one part of the empire from the other, and who had plunged the nation in all the guilt and calamity of a cruel and unextinguishable civil war, to brand this country with the indelible disgrace of the preceding summer, to exhibit the unthought-of and unheard-of spectacle, of a British fleet flying, in sight of their own coast, before that of the house of Bourbon.

Besides this grand article of accusation, the neglect of the island of Jersey afforded another, very little inferior. Through the want, they said, of two or three frigates, of that small marine force which would have been then sufficient to repel the desultory attempts to be expected from St. Maloes, admiral Arbuthnot was obliged to abandon his convoy, and to defer his voyage to New-York. By that means a fleet of 300 merchantmen and transports were exposed to the danger of the sea and the enemy in the open road of Torbay; the trade was detained a full month at home, and suffered at least an equal delay on the voyage, to the immense loss and expense of the merchant; and the reinforcements for sir Henry Clinton, which, to answer any effectual purpose, should have been landed at New-York before the time of their departure from England, did not reach the continent of America until the end of August, when the season for action was nearly over, and the troops had suffered so much from the unusual length of their confinement on ship-board, that they were incapable of any immediate service. Thus were all the views and hopes of the campaign frustrated in the outset, and thus, year after year, was the blood and treasure of the nation consumed, and its strength exhausted in that fatal contest, while the unequalled misconduct prevailing at home, rendered all the exertions of valour and ability fruitless, and ensured the ill success which followed.

The vast military force kept up within the kingdom afforded also an ample topic of discussion. This, including the militia, and the various corps of new-raised troops, amounted, it was said, to more than 100,000 men. Yet
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this vast force, which, under former wise and happy administrations, would have conveyed terror and destruction to our enemies, and endangered even their most remote possessions, was kept supine and idle at home. Nothing could more clearly point out the atrocious designs, or the consummate folly, of administration. It was either intended, that this prodigious force should act against the people, or it was altogether unnecessary. If we had no fleet, it was more than sufficient for internal defence; if we had a fleet, and could trust to it, we had no occasion for so vast a force by land.

Nor was the internal government of our military force less animadverted upon. The new-adopted system of modelling the army was condemned in the strongest terms, and represented as being not more unjust and scandalous in the practice, than ruinous in the effect. The honourable scars of long and veteran service, were obliged to give way to the superior interest, or perhaps the secret and corrupt influence, which supported the raw subaltern, who could lay no claim either to merit or service. Nor did the evil, however shameful or glaring, stop there. Men totally unacquainted with military affairs were called from the civil walks of life, and suddenly appointed to the command of regiments. Deaks, counting-houses, and public offices, were stripped of their useful and peaceable occupiers, to supply a new race of commanders and generals for our armies. Thus were officers of long service and tried honour reduced to the hard necessity of either abandoning a profession to which they had dedicated their small fortunes, their hopes, and lives; or of submitting to the military disgrace of obeying those whom they had been accustomed to command, and of receiving orders from men whose incapacity and ignorance rendered them objects of their sovereign contempt. Thus, continual murmurings, jealousies, and discontents were generated among those who were fighting the battles of their country.

The same conduct which had prevailed in Europe, was to be traced in every part of the world. The enemy had, at one sweep, carried away every thing that was English,

through the whole extent of the African coasts. The dominion of the sea was no less effectually, though less disgracefully, lost in the West Indies, than in the narrow seas and the channel. Our West India islands had been more properly delivered up to the enemy, than subdued by them. It made no difference in the nature of things, whether our possessions were surrendered or sold by a public or private treaty with France, or whether they were left so naked and defenceless, that the enemy should have nothing more to do than to send garrisons to take possession of them. This, they insisted, was the case with respect to the islands we had lost; and those that remained, were not in a much better situation. Jamaica, now the most valuable of our colonies, and the principal source of our remaining trade and wealth, was most shamefully abandoned, and was at that time in the most imminent danger of being totally lost, if not already so.

This extraordinary torrent of accusation and invective, was finished by a declaration, that the omissions and defects which produced all these calamities, went so much beyond any thing which could be allowed for impotence and imperfection of mind, that they seemed under a necessity of deriving their origin from direct treachery. Final ruin, or a total change of system and of men, was now the alternative to which we were reduced. All the means of national preservation which now remained, and the sentiments of every intelligent and independent man in England, were now expressed in the short sentence, "New counsels and new counsellors!" This was the universal language without doors, and of those within when they went out.

The speech itself was, as usual, criticised in the severest manner. It held forth, that though the designs and attempts of our enemies to invade this island had been hitherto frustrated, they still menaced us with great armaments and preparations; but it was trusted we were well prepared to meet every attack, and to repel every insult.

In return to this speech, addresses from both houses had been proposed, as usual, approving of every part of it. In that from the house of lords particularly, the *blessings* enjoyed

enjoyed under the present government had been acknowledged, which produced no little censure and severe comment. It was asked, Whether that recognition of public happiness was founded in truth? Whether it was not rather an insult to parliament, when applied to the ministers? Was there a lord present who could lay his hand on his heart, and congratulate his majesty on the blessings enjoyed under his government? A majority might indeed grant a vote, but they would go no farther; they could neither close the eyes, nor warp the opinions of mankind. For themselves, however, the opposition maintained, that no motive whatever should induce them to the vain and scandalous attempt of giving a sanction to so gross a species of delusion and imposition, by the acknowledgment of blessings which did not exist, and a recognition of the merits of government, in direct contradiction to experience and fact.

Amendments were proposed in the house of commons by lord John Cavendish, and in the house of lords by the marquis of Rockingham. Both were to the following purpose, *viz.* “To beseech his majesty to reflect upon the extent of territory, the power, opulence, reputation abroad, and concord at home, which distinguished the opening of his majesty’s reign, and marked it as the most splendid and happy period in the history of this nation—That he would now consider the endangered, impoverished, enfeebled, distracted, and even dismembered state of the whole, after all the grants of successive parliaments, liberal to profusion, and trusting to the very utmost of rational confidence—That his majesty would naturally expect to receive the honest opinion of a faithful and affectionate parliament, who would betray his majesty, and those whom they represented, if they did not distinctly state to his majesty, that, if any thing could prevent the consummation of public ruin, it only could be new counsels and counsellors, without farther loss of time, and a real change, from a sincere conviction of past errors; not a mere palliation, which must prove fruitless.”

With regard to this amendment, the minister observed, that the language was strictly parliamentary. It was the

duty, as well as the right of parliament, to cause evil ministers to be removed; but justice first required a proof of their delinquency. To remove the servants of the crown, without assigning any cause for it, or attributing to them, without any evidence or trial, those errors or crimes which on trial would not be found imputable to them, would be equally unjust and unprecedented. Though he admitted, therefore, to the fullest extent, the right of that house to address the throne for a removal of ministers, yet as nothing was specifically charged against them in the amendment, he must certainly oppose it on principle; and it certainly could not be imagined, that he would agree to the indirect censure implied against himself in the requisition of new counsels and counsellors. The charge of treachery was denied, as were all the others, either directly or indirectly.

On this occasion, ministry were defended by the attorney-general, Mr. Wedderburn; by the lord advocate of Scotland, Mr. Dundas; by Mr. Jenkinson, and Mr. Adam. On the side of opposition, Mr. Thomas Townshend, Mr. Burke, lord John Cavendish, Mr. Temple Luttrell, and Mr. Charles Fox, greatly distinguished themselves in this debate, particularly the last-named gentleman.

He said, "that the plan of government which had been in this reign invariably pursued, had been very early adopted. It was not the mere rumour of the streets that the king was his own minister—the fatal truth was evident; and though denied by the members of the administration, it was propagated by their followers. It was a doctrine in the highest degree dangerous, as tending to relieve ministers from their responsibility, and to transfer it to a personage who could not by the principles of our constitution be called to an account. But he said it should be a warning to sovereigns, that though in general the evils of a reign were, according to the principles of our government, ascribed to the wicked counsels of ministers, yet when these evils reach to a certain height, ministers are forgotten, and the prince alone is punished. Thus it was with the royal house of Stuart. Charles and James
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had no doubt wicked ministers, to whom the errors of their reign were justly in a great degree to be attributed; yet the one lost his life, and the other his crown. The patience of the people was not unlimited, and, however passive for a time, they would at last do themselves justice." The amendment was in the result negatived by two hundred and thirty-three voices to one hundred and thirty-four.

Notwithstanding this apparent triumph, it was easy to see, that the debates on this occasion carried a quite different aspect from what they had ever done before; and that though the ministry carried their point at this time, it would not be long before they would be entirely defeated. In fact, they were now universally complained of, and the nation at large had in a great measure withdrawn their confidence.

The public odium against them was increased by a duel betwixt Mr. Adam, a friend to administration, and the celebrated Mr. Fox, on account of some words which had been used by the latter in the course of the debate in the house of commons; the particulars of which are nearly as follows. The ministry, in their defence against the violent attacks of opposition, frequently made use of the following argument: That bad as the ministers were, it was not certain that the nation would be at all bettered by taking their opponents. On this Mr. Fox animadverted with so much asperity, that Mr. Adam, who had made use of it in the same debate, called upon him for an explanation. Some days afterwards, Mr. Fox received a letter from that gentleman, requiring that he would allow the following paragraph to be put in the newspapers: "We have authority to assure the public, that, in a conversation that passed between Mr. Fox and Mr. Adam, in consequence of the debate in the house of commons on Thursday last, Mr. Fox declared, that however much his speech may have been misrepresented, he did not mean to throw any personal reflection on Mr. Adam." Mr. Fox refused to countenance the putting any thing into the newspapers concerning a speech which required no explanation. "Mr. Adam, who heard the speech,"
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he said, " must be sensible, that it conveyed no personal reflection against him, unless he found himself in the predicament animadverted upon. The account of the speech in the newspaper was incorrect, and unauthorised by him. With respect to that, he had, of consequence, nothing to say ; however, if Mr. Adam chose either to publish the speech, or the conversation which passed in relation to it, he was perfectly at liberty." This not proving satisfactory, a challenge took place ; and the parties having met, according to appointment, Mr. Adam desired his antagonist to fire ; but he replying, that he had no quarrel with him, and desiring him to fire, the former discharged his pistol, and wounded Mr. Fox. The latter then fired without effect, and the seconds interfered. Mr. Fox then asked if Mr. Adam was satisfied ; but he insisting on an apology, which Mr. Fox refused, Mr. Adam then fired his other pistol without effect, and his antagonist discharged his into the air ; then saying, " As the affair was now ended, he had no difficulty in declaring that he meant no more affront to him than to any of the other gentlemen present."

The next business of importance related to Ireland. This was introduced by lord Shelburne into the house of lords, who after a long speech, in which he stated the neglect of ministers on every occasion where relief could have been granted, and the very extraordinary methods that had been fallen on by the Irish, moved, " That it was highly criminal in his majesty's ministers to have neglected taking effectual measures for the relief of the kingdom of Ireland, in consequence of the address of that house of the 11th of May, and of his majesty's most gracious answer ; and to have suffered the discontents of that country to rise to such a height as evidently to endanger the constitutional connexion between the two kingdoms, and to create new embarrassments to the public counsels through division and diffidence, in a moment when real unanimity, grounded upon mutual confidence and affection, is confessedly essential to the preservation of what is left of the British empire."

The opponents of this motion contended, that the charges implied in the censure were without proof; that the censure included ministers who had been so short a time in office as to be incapable of meriting blame; it was certainly necessary to know what orders ministers had received concerning the affairs of Ireland, and whether they had executed those. The papers before the house showed that ministers had gone as far in the business as their office permitted, and beyond those lengths the legislature only could proceed; and, at once to silence opposition, the minister in the lower house was in a few days to bring forward certain propositions for the relief of Ireland. But this defence did not satisfy the lords in opposition, who desired the ministers to turn their eyes to the present state of Ireland, and see whether that did not furnish incontestable proof that the relief of that country had been neglected, till at length, full of resentment at the contemptuous treatment, they had taken up arms in their own defence. The late president of the council, lord Gower, strengthened the hands of opposition by an animated speech against the conduct of ministers, declaring that he had seen such things pass in the council, as were sufficient to exclude a man of honour and conscience from a seat in it. To his lordship's pointed assertions no reply whatever was made, but, on the question being put, the motion was lost by the silent oratory of a majority amounting to more than two to one.

While lord North was preparing his plans of relief for Ireland, a motion, similar to the above, was made on the 6th of December in the house of commons by the earl of Upper Ossory. In answer to this attack, the friends of ministry endeavoured to justify them, by throwing considerable blame on a gradual impolicy which had crept into the system of our trade laws, the prejudices in favour of which were so strong as to produce petitions, and every mark of displeasure in England at whatever time gentlemen had attempted to introduce modifications of them; of course parliament, in obeying the wills of their constituents, were doing their duty, and ministers were totally incompetent to act otherwise; and that hitherto mi-
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nisters had not been able exactly to ascertain the wishes of the Irish, but as these were now rendered more plain, the matter could be brought to a regular discussion. The speeches of opposition on this motion were particularly pointed at the minister, whom they scrupled not to censure in the strongest terms, as the creature of a secret combination, and who attended the house merely to collect his majority of three and two to one. As to the assertion that the complaints of Ireland were prior to the present administration, it was granted, but it was equally true that they had been increased seven-fold since the American war. Ireland, irritated by this accumulation of distress, and frequent neglect, had imitated the example set by America, for which ministers had to thank themselves. Her parliament lost its confidence in that of Britain, and, on the whole, the only particular in which she differed from America, was in not yet having proved a grave to British troops sent over for her subjugation; and this failure in the favourite system of government coercion could only arise from the horror with which ministry now saw themselves environed. The motion was rejected by a large majority.

In the course of a few days lord North laid his propositions relative to Ireland, before the house of commons; they were three: The repeal of those laws which prohibited the exportation of Irish manufactures, made of or mixed with wool, and wool stocks, from Ireland to any part of Europe: The repeal of so much of the act of 19 Geo. II. as prohibited the importation of glass into Ireland, except of British manufacture, or to export glass from that kingdom: And third, that Ireland be suffered to trade with the British colonies in America and the West Indies, and Africa, subject to such regulations, duties, &c. as the parliament of Ireland should impose. These resolutions were unanimously agreed to, the latter only admitting of some small delay.

On the 7th of December, while the affairs of Ireland were still in agitation, the duke of Richmond attempted to call the attention of the house to the enormous expenses of the war. He showed, that if the war only continued

to the end of the ensuing year, and was to consume the provision which parliament was making for its support, it would by that time complete an addition from its beginning of 63 millions to the former national debt; the whole being then little short of 200 millions; and that as the minister had given, on an average, about 6 per cent. for the new debt, the standing interest of the whole would not amount to less than eight millions annually; a tribute to the payment of which all the landed interest of England was to be for ever mortgaged. Such, he said, would be the state of the British finances at the close of the following year; and it would only be better by 12 millions were peace to be concluded at that instant. Under such vast burdens, the necessity of the most exact and rigid economy was self-evident. Our formidable neighbour and enemy had set us the example. Whilst the English were bent down to the earth under the pressure of their burdens, and the industry of our minister was exhausted in multiplying new and vexatious, though at the same time unproductive objects of taxation, France, through the ability of her minister, by a judicious reform in the collection and expenditure of her finances, had not yet laid a single tax on her people for the support of the war. In this country, however, instead of any attempt towards the practice, or even any pretence or profession of economy, our expenditure was so shamefully lavish, as to surpass all recorded example of waste and mismanagement in the weakest and most corrupt governments. Our affairs were now arrived at such a point of distress and danger as reduced us to the necessity of applying to economy, that never-failing source of wealth; and as this must begin somewhere, he could not help thinking that the sovereign ought to set the example. In that case, he had no doubt that it would have a great and general effect; nor did he imagine that in such a case there was one of their lordships who would not cheerfully relinquish any part of their public emoluments that his majesty might please to recommend. The example once begun, would spread through the different departments of state; it would influence the
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conduct and excite the public spirit of individuals ; it would likewise, in its effect, tend to restrain that boundless profusion in the public expenditure which prevailed at that time. He did not wish to abridge the crown of any thing necessary to support its splendour and dignity ; nor could his intended motion produce any such effect. Parliament had but a few years before augmented the civil list to the enormous amount of 900,000 l. annually. His motion could go no farther, in its utmost presumed extent, than to bring it again to that state in which both the dignity and splendour of the crown had been well supported in much happier times and more prosperous seasons. He accordingly moved for an address, to the following purpose : “ To beseech his majesty to reflect on the manifold distresses and difficulties in which this country was involved, and too deeply felt to stand in need of any enumeration ; to represent, that, amidst the many and various matters that require reformation, and must undergo correction, before this country can rise superior to its powerful enemies, the waste of public treasure required instant remedy ; that profusion is not vigour ; and that it was become indispensably necessary to adopt that true economy which, by reforming all useless expenses, creates confidence in government, gives energy to its exertions, and provides the means of their continuance—Humbly to submit to his majesty, that a considerable reduction of the civil list would be an example well worthy of his majesty’s paternal affection for his people, and his own dignity ; nor could it fail of diffusing its influence through every department of the state, and to add true lustre to the crown from the grateful feelings of a distressed people ; to assure his majesty also, that this house will readily concur in promoting so desirable a purpose ; and that every one of its members would cheerfully submit to such reduction of emolument in any office he might hold, as his majesty in his royal wisdom should think proper to make.” This motion was supported by the marquis of Rockingham, the earl of Shelburne, and earl of Derby ; and opposed by the lord chancellor, lord Onslow, and lord Stormont.

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Though the lords in administration agreed as to the representation of public affairs which had been laid down as the foundation of the motion, they opposed the principal object of it on various grounds. They granted, indeed, that there had been some want of economy during the present administration, but they considered this rather as incident to a state of war, than as being peculiar to the ministers. The mode of economy, however, proposed by the motion was totally inadequate to its object, *viz.* of extricating us in any degree from our present difficulties; at the same time that it conveyed a censure upon the former proceedings of that house in the augmentation of the civil-list. It was inconsistent and unjust to attempt to withdraw from his majesty, what had been so unanimously granted by parliament. It would be mean to tax the salaries of the servants of the crown; and the revenue so raised would be trifling, and totally incompetent to any of the great purposes of national expenditure. If we were reduced to such an extremity of distress as rendered the measure indispensably necessary, let such contributions from the public benevolence or spirit be general and optional; let us follow the example of Holland in such a situation, where money was received without any specification in the public treasury, and without being in any degree accounted for.

But whatever system of economy might be adopted, it was by no means proper that it should begin with the crown, the splendour of which should at all events be supported, as including in it the honour and dignity of the empire. Economy should be directed to the various departments connected with public expenditure, so that their respective business might be prudently and honestly conducted. They were all interested in supporting the honour and dignity of the crown; and they must all partake in the satisfaction of that increase of the royal family, which increased the necessity of an ample revenue. Should we be really obliged to deprive his majesty of that income which had been so lately granted him, the proceeding would sink and degrade us so much in the eyes of all

Europe, that, instead of affording any benefit, it would be productive of great national prejudice.

By some other lords in opposition, however, a new subject was adverted to. They attributed all our misfortunes and calamities to the long increasing, and now prodigious influence of the crown. They considered the augmentation of the civil-list as having greatly increased and confirmed that influence. They said, that all temporizing expedients to relieve the people would prove ineffectual; that a reformation of the constitution was called for; that its principles were perverted; and that, until it was restored to its native and original purity, this country could never recover its former power and character; nor could any thing great or decisive be expected from its utmost exertions. A noble lord in a high military office, declared his concurrence with the motion, provided that it extended to all places under government. He knew, he said, that it was what all people expected; that all ranks felt the common calamity, and looked impatiently for relief; and that he would cheerfully give up the whole emoluments of his own place, for the good of his country. Notwithstanding these apparent marks of defect on, however, the duke of Richmond's motion was rejected by 77 to 37.

This dispute concerning economy seemed to lead to another, on the vast sums charged to the extraordinaries of the army, and which became every year more and more enormous. This had long been a subject of complaint; but as it had formerly been introduced into the house of commons without success, and did not seem likely to meet with a better reception at any future period, lord Shelburne now introduced it in the house of peers, who were accordingly summoned for the purpose. He began by taking a comparative view of the extraordinary military services of former reigns, and of the present. He showed, that the extras of king William's reign, when a war was carried on in Ireland, Flanders, and the West Indies, did not exceed in the highest year 100,000*l*. during the revolution war: That in the suc-
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cession war, which we maintained in Germany, on the banks of the Danube, in Flanders, Spain, the Mediterranean, North America, and the West Indies, the extraordinaries never exceeded 200,000l.; and that in the first war of the late king, carried on against the combined power of France and Spain, they did not, in any year, exceed 400,000l. During the late war also, the most extensive in which Britain had ever engaged, and that which was attended with greater expence than any that had preceded it, the extraordinaries of the year 1757, were only 800,000l. while those of 1777 amounted to 1,200,000l. besides a million granted on transport-service; in all, more than two millions. In 1762, the most expensive year of the late war, when our arms were triumphant in every quarter of the globe, when we supported 80,000 men in Germany, besides victorious armies in North America, the British and French West Indies, the East Indies, in Portugal, on the coast of France, and at the reduction of the Havannah, the whole of the extraordinaries did not exceed two millions; whereas the two last defensive campaigns would be found, when the accounts were made up, to amount to the enormous sum of more than three millions each; and the extra military charges of the last four years, during the greater part of which the contest had been confined to the Americans only, would be found to be about eight millions and a half; a sum very nearly equal to the whole expenditure of the first four years of king William's, and fully equal to the two first years of the duke of Marlborough's campaigns.

His lordship then proceeded to state and explain the causes to which he attributed the monstrous disproportion between the present military extraordinaries, and those of any former period. In this detail he stated, that only one contractor had been employed in the last war for the supply of the forces in America; but that the minister had split the present contract into twelve parts, in order to make a return to as many of his friends for the services which he received from them at home. That in the former instance, the sole contractor, sir William Baker, was bound to furnish

nish provisions on the spot in America, at sixpence per ration; whereas the present contractors were only to deliver rations at the same price in Corke; so that the whole freight, insurance, risque, and all other possible expenses, were taken out of the pockets of the public, and put into those of the minister's contracting friends. From which, and from a variety of other specified instances of mismanagement, he pledged himself to the proof, that every ration now delivered in America stood the public in two shillings, instead of sixpence which they cost in the last war. One person only, he said, had enjoyed contracts to the amount of 1,300,000*l.* and 3,700,000*l.* had passed through the hands of another contractor to be transmitted to America; but no voucher had been given for the expenditure of this immense sum; the accounts being contained in a few lines, *viz.* 20,000*l.* in one line, 30,000*l.* in another, &c.

After going over a vast variety of matter relative to the subject of contracts and contractors, whom he treated with as little mercy as the ministers themselves, he opened his views more particularly with regard to his intended motions. An unconstitutional, ministerial influence, he said, had usurped the regal prerogative, which it was now become absolutely necessary to crush for the salvation of the empire. The mischief arose principally from the opportunity now afforded, in a greater degree than ever, to the first lord of the treasury, of expending millions of public money without account, and consequently without economy; and as the army extraordinaries afforded the most unlimited means to the minister for the propagation and support of that fatal system of influence and corruption, he would make that lavish head of expenditure the first and great object of his inquiry and censure. His lordship's first motion was accordingly to the following purport:—"That the alarming addition annually making to the national debt, under the head of extraordinaries, incurred in the different services, required immediate check and control; the increasing of the public expense beyond the supplies granted by parliament being at all times an invasion of the fundamental rights of parliament, and the
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utmost economy being indispensably necessary in the present reduced and deplorable state of the landed interest of Great Britain and Ireland."

To this extraordinary charge the ministers scarcely thought proper to make any reply, the cause of which was not properly discovered. Some attributed this to a disagreement between themselves, which did not permit them to be much displeased with the arraignment of a conduct where none of that house were officially concerned; others imagined rather that they were not sufficiently instructed in the nature of the question to answer it fully. Be this as it may, the chancellor, perceiving no likelihood of a debate, proceeded to put the question. The duke of Manchester expressed the utmost indignation and astonishment, that ministers should venture to sit still under such charges without an attempt at answer or defence. A noble earl likewise, who had lately succeeded to his seat in the house of peers, declared, that, during fifteen years he had sat in the other, he had never seen a question of such importance treated with such indifference or silence; or, what was full as bad, with some feeble attempt, which meant nothing, and which seemed intended to mean nothing. Lord Shelburne's motion was, however, rejected by a majority of 81 to 41.

The rejection of this first motion did not prevent his lordship from intimating that he intended to make a second, the purport of which was, "That a committee should be appointed to inquire into several parts of the public expenditure, and for taking into consideration what reductions or savings could with consistency be made." This was agreed to be laid before the house on the 8th of February following. The victory of ministry on this occasion did not, however, contribute much to an increase of their strength; on the contrary, the public dissatisfaction was thus augmented in a very considerable degree. It was now very generally believed, that no hope of redress existed until such measures were pursued by the people at large as would, by dissolving that unnatural combination supposed to exist between ministers and parliament, restore the ancient dignity and energy of the latter. The thanks
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of the city of London were voted to the duke of Richmond and earl of Shelburne for their past motions, along with the fullest approbation of that for the 8th of February, and an assurance of every constitutional support in their power to those necessary plans of reformation adopted by them.

The aversion of the people to the present system of administration, and their sensibility to the horrors of a war obviously ruinous to the country in all its parts, became now very conspicuous. Associations were formed in different places, particularly at York, where a petition to the house of commons was unanimously agreed upon, and accompanied with a resolution, that a committee of sixty-one gentlemen be appointed to carry on the necessary correspondence for effectually promoting the object of the petition, and likewise to prepare the plan of an association, on legal and constitutional grounds, to support a laudable reform, and such other measures as might conduce to the freedom of parliament, to be presented by the chairman of the committee at their next meeting, to be held by adjournment in Easter-week.

In this petition they began by stating, as matters of fact, That the nation had been engaged for several years in a most expensive and unfortunate war; many of our valuable colonies had declared themselves independent, had formed a strict confederacy with our most inveterate and dangerous enemies; and that the consequence of those combined misfortunes had been a large addition to the national debt, a heavy accumulation of taxes, with a rapid decline of the trade, manufactures, and land-rents of the kingdom. They then declared, that “alarmed at the diminished resources, as well as the growing burdens of the country, and convinced, that rigid frugality was now indispensably necessary in every department of the state, they observed with grief, that notwithstanding the calamities and impoverished condition of the nation, much public money had been improvidently squandered; that many individuals enjoyed sinecure places, with exorbitant emoluments and pensions, unmerited by public service, to a large and still increasing amount; whence the crown had acquired a great and unconstitutional influence, which,

which, if not checked in time, might soon prove fatal to the liberties of the country." They further declared, that, "conceiving the true end of every legitimate government to be, not the emolument of any individual, but the welfare of the community; and considering that, by the constitution, the custody of the national purse is entrusted in a peculiar manner to that house, they begged leave to represent, that until effectual measures were taken to redress those oppressive grievances, the grant of any additional sum of money beyond the produce of the present taxes, would be injurious to the rights, and derogatory to the honour and dignity of parliament. They therefore, appealing to the justice of the commons, most earnestly requested, that before any new burdens were laid upon this country, effectual measures might be taken to inquire into, and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions; and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the state."

The example of York was quickly followed by other counties and corporations. Similar petitions were agreed to by the counties of Middlesex, Chester, Hertford, Sussex, Huntingdon, Surrey, Cumberland, Bedford, Essex, Somerset, Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Norfolk, Berks, Bucks, Nottingham, Kent, Northumberland, Suffolk, Hereford, Cambridge, and Derby; Denbigh, Flint, and Brecknock; as well as by the cities of London, Westminster, York, Bristol, Gloucester, and Hereford; with the towns of Nottingham, Reading, Cambridge, Bridgewater, and Newcastle upon Tyne. The county of Northampton declined petitioning, but voted resolutions and instructions to their representatives, to the same purpose with the petitions.

These proceedings greatly alarmed ministry, and even many of those who wished well to the cause of reformation, shuddered at the thoughts of what might be the consequence. Associations and committees had produced such recent effects in America, and even in Ireland, that the very terms had become suspicious. These fears were dex-

dexterously cherished by the ministerial party. It was contended, that the true sense of the counties could not be collected, nor the matter proposed duly examined, in such meetings, so new in their form and so void of regularity; that the petitions conveyed insinuations injurious and disrespectful to parliament, to whose province only belonged the granting of supplies; and that the petitions and resolutions were calculated to produce diffidence and suspicions in the minds of his majesty's subjects, at a time when unanimity and confidence in government were essentially necessary to support and invigorate the exertions of the state. In this manner several counties were prevented from petitioning or forming committees; but, in general, the endeavours of ministry to prevent county-meetings were totally frustrated. So impetuous was the spirit which now prevailed, that lord Sandwich in person, and at the head of a great body of his numerous friends, could not prevent a petition and committee from being carried in his own native and favourite county. All endeavours to prevent petitions being thus found abortive, means were used to obtain protests; but though the business was undertaken by one or two persons of great property and consequence, it was attended with very indifferent success. Even in those places where protests were obtained, the dissenting parties durst not oppose the prayer of the petitions, but declared themselves of opinion, that every thing ought to be left to the discretion of parliament, in whose integrity and public spirit they thought it improper to express, particularly at that time, any kind of distrust.

The petition from the county of York was presented on the 8th of February, by sir George Saville, member for the county, who stated, "that it was signed by above eight thousand freeholders. This petition, he said, had been procured by no underhand arts or public canvass; it was first moved in a meeting of six hundred gentlemen; and there was, he believed, more property in the hall where it was agreed to, than was contained within the walls of the house of commons. It was a petition, he said, to which the administration would not dare to refuse a hearing,

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ing, however the arts of ministerial artifice and finesse might be employed to defeat the purpose of it."

Sir George Saville was peevishly answered by the minister, and powerfully supported by Mr. Fox. The petition was allowed to be laid on the table, as well as a petition from Jamaica, complaining of the defenceless state of that island.

The way being thus prepared by the petitions, Mr. Burke proceeded to open his promised plan of economy, which included the following bills, *viz.* First, "A bill for the better regulation of his majesty's civil establishments, and of certain public offices; for the limitation of pensions, and the suppression of sundry useless, expensive, and inconvenient places; and for applying the monies saved thereby to the public service." The second, "A bill for the sale of the forest and other crown lands, rents, and hereditaments, with certain exceptions; and for applying the produce thereof to the public service; and for securing, ascertaining, and satisfying, tenant-rights, and common and other rights." Third, "A bill for the more perfectly uniting to the crown the principality of Wales, and the county palatine of Chester, and for the more commodious administration of justice within the same; as also, for abolishing certain offices now appertaining thereto; for quieting dormant claims, ascertaining and securing tenant-rights, and for the sale of forest lands, and other lands, tenements, and hereditaments, held by his majesty in right of the said principality, or county palatine of Chester, and for applying the produce thereof to the public service." Fourth, "A bill for uniting to the crown the dutchy and county palatine of Lancaster; for the suppression of unnecessary offices, now belonging thereto, for the ascertainment and security of tenant and other rights; and for the sale of all rents, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and forests, within the said dutchy and county palatine, or either of them; and for applying the produce thereof to the public service." And fifthly, "A bill for uniting the dutchy of Cornwall to the crown; for the suppression of unnecessary offices now belonging thereto; for the ascertainment and security of tenant

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tenant and other rights; and for the sale of certain rents, lands, and tenements, within or belonging to the said dutchy; and for applying the produce thereof to the public service."

The scheme of reform was commenced with the royal household. It comprehended the treasurer, comptroller, cofferer of the household; the treasurer of the chamber; the master of the household; the whole board of green cloth; and a vast number of subordinate offices in the department of the steward of the household. It included also the whole establishment of the great wardrobe, the removing wardrobe, the jewel office, the robes, and almost the whole charge of the civil branch of the board of ordnance. All these arrangements taken together, he said, would be found to relieve the nation from a vast weight of influence; and that, so far from distressing, it would rather forward every public service.

His plan likewise extended to the destruction of subordinate treasuries, of consequence to the two treasuries or pay-offices of the army and navy. He proposed that these offices should be no longer banks or treasuries, but mere offices of administration; and that all money which was formerly impressed to them, should for the future be impressed to the bank of England. He was likewise of opinion, that the business of the mint, excepting what related to it as a manufactory, should be transferred to that corporation. He proposed likewise the total removal of the subordinate treasury, and office of the pay-master of the pensions; the payments, in future, to be made by the exchequer; the great patent offices of the exchequer to be reduced to fixed salaries; and, as the present lives and reversions should fall, the several places of keepers of the stag-hounds, buck-hounds, fox-hounds, and harriers, to be totally abolished. He also proposed to reform the new office of third secretary of state, commonly called secretary of state for the colonies; the fabrication of which, like that of all other late arrangements, he considered merely as a job, the two ancient secretaries being supposed now, as heretofore, fully competent to the whole of the public business. He concluded his plan of reduction, by proposing,

posing the total annihilation of the board of trade, as an office totally useless, answering none of its avowed or supposed purposes, and serving merely to provide eight members of parliament, and thereby to retain their services. He likewise proposed a limitation of the total amount of pensions to 60,000*l.* per annum; but he did not wish to take away any man's pension, and thought it more prudent, in that respect, not to adhere to the letter of the petitions.

This plan of reduction had annexed to it a plan of arrangement, which he confessed to be the favourite part of his scheme, as he imagined it would prevent all prodigality in the civil-list for the future. He proposed to establish a fixed and invariable order in all payments, from which the first lord of the treasury should not be permitted in any case to deviate. For this purpose, the civil-list payments were to be divided into nine classes, putting each class forward according to the importance or justice of the demand, or to the inability of the persons entitled to enforce their pretensions. In the first of these classes were placed the judges; in the second, the ministers to foreign courts; in the third, the tradesmen who supplied the crown; in the fourth, the domestic servants of the king, and all persons in efficient offices, whose salaries did not exceed 200*l.* annually; and the fifth class comprehended the pensions and allowances of the royal family, comprehending of course the queen, together with the stated allowance of the privy-purse. The sixth took in those efficient officers of duty, whose salaries might exceed 200*l.* a-year. The whole pension list was included in the seventh; the offices of honour about the king, in the eighth; and the ninth included the salaries and pensions of the first lord of the treasury himself, the chancellor of the exchequer, and other commissioners of that department. To these arrangements were added some regulations, which would for ever have prevented any civil-list debt from coming on the public.

Mr. Burke's speech on this occasion, upwards of three hours in length, was not only heard with the greatest attention,

attention, but received the highest encomiums from both sides of the house, who could not refrain from expressing their admiration at the vast fund of political knowledge displayed by that gentleman with regard to every department of state. The minister, therefore, perceiving this, thought proper not to object to the plan on the first motion. He assured the house, that no man was more zealous for the establishment of a permanent system of economy than himself. But that, besides the subjects of the present being so numerous and various as to require some time for comprehension, some of them affected the king's patrimonial income; on which account he thought it necessary to obtain the consent of the crown before they proceeded upon them. For this reason he proposed to postpone the three bills which related to the crown lands, the principality of Wales, &c. which was yielded to as a point of decorum.—In three days, however, they were brought in without any objection. The surveyor-general of the duchy of Cornwall made objections to that relating to the union of this county with the crown, on account of the minority of the prince of Wales; on which Mr. Burke, though with reluctance, withdrew his motion.

The house of peers in the mean time were far from being indolent or inattentive spectators of the interesting scenes now passing. On the very day that the petition of the county of York was presented to the house of commons, the earl of Shelburne moved, in the house of peers, “for the appointment of a committee of members of both houses of parliament, possessing neither employments nor pensions, to examine into the public expenditure, and the mode of accounting for the same.” This motion was supported by his lordship in a very able speech, in which he declared “that the great point to which his wishes tended, and to effect which his motion was chiefly framed, was to annihilate that undue influence operating upon both houses of parliament, which, if not eradicated, would prove the destruction of this country. To restore to parliament its constitutional independence, and to place government upon its true foundations, wisdom, justice,

justice, and public virtue, was, the noble earl said, his most earnest desire, and this could not be effected without striking at the root of parliamentary corruption. Exclusive of this great and primary object, his lordship showed, that the most shameful waste of the public money had taken place in every branch of the national expenditure. To support a most ruinous and disgraceful war, a wicked, bloody, and unjust war! the minister had borrowed year after year upon fictitious and unproductive taxes, and anticipated the produce of the sinking fund to answer his own views. Solely intent upon borrowing, he appeared to have lost sight of every idea of decreasing the debt. It was the uncontrolled possession of the public purse which created that corrupt and dangerous influence in parliament, of which such fatal use had been made; which put into the minister's hands the means of delusion, which served to fortify him in his mad career, and which left no hope or prospect of punishing him for the enormity of his crimes. Influence so employed, his lordship declared to be a curse far greater, and more to be deprecated, than pestilence or famine. The present motion, the noble earl observed, was not of a nature novel to parliament; in former times, particularly in the years 1702, 1703, and 1717, there had been commissioners of accounts appointed by act of parliament. The object of the proposition now before the house was of a nature exactly similar, and it went to the abolition of all offices, whatever their salaries or appointments, that answered no other end but that of increasing the undue and unconstitutional influence of the crown." In support of the motion, the duke of Grafton declared, "that from his own knowledge and immediate observation, he could assert with confidence that the spirit of discontent and dissatisfaction was almost universally gone forth, and that the petitions recently presented expressed the genuine sense of the people." On the other hand, lord Chesterfield, a young man not *as yet* distinguished by the eminence either of his knowledge or talents, and who had lately taken his seat in the house on the decease of his illustrious relation, the famous earl of Chesterfield, affirmed, with singular temerity, that "the majority of the

the people were well contented under the present government, and that the county petitions and associations were the last struggles of an *expiring faction*." The lords Stormont, Mansfield, and the lord chancellor, maintained, with far more plausibility, "that the present motion was a violation of the inherent exclusive privilege of the other house to control the public expenditure, which no composition, compromise, or compact, would induce them to part with. They insisted that the motion was brought forward to embarrass government, and to throw an odium upon his majesty's confidential advisers; and that the petitions with which the motion was connected were filled with absurd and impracticable notions of public reform, and specious theories calculated to mislead the nation, and to introduce universal confusion." The marquis of Rockingham distinguished himself in the debate by an animated speech in defence of the motion. His lordship said, "that a system had been formed at the accession of his present majesty, to govern this country under the *forms of law*, but in reality through the immediate influence of the crown. This was the origin of all our national misfortunes; the measures of the present reign wore every internal and external evidence of that dangerous and alarming origin; and, when combined, they presented such a system of corruption, venality, and despotism, as had never perhaps been known under any *form* of free and limited government. This system he had for seventeen years uniformly and vigorously opposed, and particularly during the short time he had presided at the head of the treasury, but to very little purpose. As he had come into office at his majesty's desire, so he had quitted it in obedience to his authority. His lordship implored the ministry not to persist in that blind and hitherto invincible spirit of obstinacy, which had brought the nation into its present calamitous situation, but to pay some attention to the voice of the people and the interests of their country." On the division the numbers were, *non contents* 101, *contents* 55, five-and-thirty of whom entered their protest on the journals. This was the largest minority that had for many years been known
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in the house of peers in opposition to the court; and, exclusive of placemen, pensioners, and bishops, this expiring faction constituted a clear and decisive majority of the lords present at this interesting discussion.

A few days after Mr. Burke had opened his plan, colonel Barré intimated an intention to move for a committee of accounts, as supplemental to that plan, and as the only means of preventing the present blindfold method of voting large sums of the public money without estimate. The minister embraced this proposal with apparent cheerfulness, and the opposition highly commended his lordship's seeming readiness to forward the scheme. While the colonel, however, was preparing his propositions for this important purpose, the minister took occasion to introduce a scheme of his own invention for a commission of accounts. He said he thought this proposal coming from him would convince the house of the sincerity with which he had acceded to the motion formerly made by the honourable gentleman. The colonel expressed great astonishment at this unexpected interference, not that he objected to it as a disappointment to himself, but as a direct violation of parliamentary rules. In every stage of the bill, the minister met with great opposition. To take the bill out of the hands of another member was an irregularity which cost him many severe aspersions, particularly when he proposed, that the commissioners should be gentlemen not in parliament. Sir Guy Carleton was one appointed, and thus, said opposition, "they oblige a veteran commander, habituated to the duties of a military life, to change his employment for that of the pen, to which it cannot be supposed that he is qualified in any degree." The second person nominated was one in office. Nothing could exceed the indignation which this contradictory proceeding of the minister occasioned among the opposition. They moved that the chairman should quit the chair, which was rejected upon a close division, by 195 to 173. The debate continued till four o'clock next morning, when it was put off till another day; the bill, however, notwithstanding the greatest efforts of opposition, was carried through both houses. The per-
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son in office was excluded from any share in the commission, which was the only amendment the scheme was allowed to receive from the minority.

In the beginning of February sir George Saville moved, "That an account of all places held by patent from the crown, with the amount of the salaries annexed to them, and a list of the persons who held them, should be laid before the house." By this account, he said, the house, and of course his constituents, would be enabled to judge of the services done to the state, in return for the salaries paid by it; and then it would be in the judgment of the house to decide what offices were efficient and necessary, and the number that were merely sinecures, and their emoluments a burden to the people, without any return of service. This being agreed to, he next moved, "That an account of all subsisting pensions granted by the crown, during pleasure, or otherwise, specifying the amount of such pensions respectively, and the times when, and the persons to whom, such pensions were granted, should be laid before the house." Mr. Burke, he said, with that liberality of mind peculiar to his nature, had foregone, in his plan, any inquiry into subjects of that sort; but, however laudable the motives of tenderness upon which he acted certainly were, the people, roused by the urgency of their necessities, to a close examination of the state of their affairs, and into the causes of those evils which they experienced, demanded a more strict and rigid mode of conduct.

Though it was evident, on the first proposal of this motion, that it was to meet with a strong and determined opposition, the illness of the speaker delayed it for a week. On its revival, February 21, 1780, the minister moved an amendment, restricting the account to those pensions only which were paid at the exchequer; but this he afterwards enlarged to the giving the general amount of all pensions, but without any specification of names, or of sums. This produced very long and warm debates, in the course of which the minister had the mortification to find that his power was on the decline, and that he had now to encounter such an
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opposition as he had never before experienced. Sir George Saville's motion was supported by Mr. Dunning, Mr. Byng, Mr. Burke, Mr. Fox, and colonel Barré: Ministry by Lord North, the lord advocate of Scotland, and the attorney-general, Mr. Wedderburn. Lord North opposed the motion from a point of delicacy. To expose the necessities of ancient and noble families, whose fortunes were too narrow for the support of their rank, to the prying eye of malignant curiosity, he said, would not only be wanton, but cruel. To expose the man who had a pension, to the envy and detraction of him who had none, and by whom he was therefore hated; to hold him up as an object for the gratification of private malice, and the malevolence of party, merely as a price for the favour conferred on him by the crown, would be surely a proceeding in its own nature equally odious and contemptible. Yet these were the certain effects of the motion, if carried; along with the furnishing out matter for a feast to newspaper and party writers, to be by them drest up as they thought proper, for the entertainment of the public, at the expense of the worthiest, noblest, and most deserving members of the state. He had, besides, very sufficient reasons for believing that the true state of the pension-list was very little known and understood. Several large salaries were, in exchequer language, classed under the denomination of *pension*, and accordingly swelled the payments in that list, to which they did not properly belong. If these were deducted, along with the four shillings in the pound tax on places and pensions, the remaining pension-list would be found not to exceed 50,000 l. or 10,000 l. less a year than what was thought reasonable by Mr. Burke in his plan of reform. The county meetings, therefore, must have been very ill informed, when they made the supposed excess in that department a leading article in their list of grievances; and he was certain, that if the people of England knew that all they could expect, by exposing the names of several honourable persons on the pension-list, would amount to no more, under the most rigid economy, than the saving of a few thousand pounds annually,

ally, their hearts would revolt at the idea of such a motion. He concluded, by drawing a distinction between the money granted expressly to government for the other public services of the state, and that allotted to the civil-list establishment. The former was to be specifically applied, and the proper officers were answerable for the disposal, as well as accountable for the amount. But the money granted to the king for his civil-list was granted freely, and without control. It was then his personal property, without being liable to any restriction whatever; and was as fully under his direction, and as entirely at his disposal, as the rents of a private estate could be to the owner.

This defence of the minister was treated with great contempt. Pensions granted for real service to the public, they said, were marks of honour, not of disgrace. Nor did those granted for the support of ancient and honourable families, whose poverty proceeded from the fault of their ancestors, and not their own, convey the smallest reproach. Ireland afforded a living proof within their own knowledge, that such notions of supposed delicacy were totally idle and unfounded. The holders of pensions in that country were to the full as proud and as delicate as those under the same circumstances in this. Yet the pension-list in that kingdom was every second year laid before parliament, and published in all their newspapers, without its producing any of that disgrace and uneasiness to individuals, and without opening any of those sources of detraction and malevolence, of which the minister now seemed to be so apprehensive. His lordship had, they said, endeavoured, with uncommon dexterity, to embarrass matters, and render the object of pursuit apparently so diminutive, as to be unworthy of the national attention. But, even granting that 40 or 50,000 l. simply considered, was no great object of concern to the nation, yet as every thing must be done by detail in order to become great, it was ridiculous to contend, that such, and even lesser sums, were not proper to be attended to in any scheme respecting the national expenditure. Money, however, they said, was only a
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secondary object at present, either with the petitioners or themselves. The first and great object of both, was the destruction of that undue and corrupt influence which had been the source of that ruinous expence under which the nation was sinking. If by cutting off 40 or 50,000l. a year from the means of that corruption, it was thus possible to exclude forty or fifty voters from that impenetrable parliamentary phalanx, on whom no reason, argument, or affection for their country was ever capable of making an impression, or of deterring them from a blind adherence to the minister of the day, whoever he might be, or in whatever predicament he might stand, it would be gaining an object of no small importance, and prove in the event a mean of saving much larger sums. Had such saving taken place, America would still have continued to be the strength and glory of this nation.

The offer made by the minister, of giving an account only of those pensions that were regularly paid at the public offices of the exchequer, was treated with ridicule. This was a degree of information which any man in the kingdom might easily obtain, by a proper application. But the present inquiries were directed to pensions of another nature. They respected temporary pensions; such as were paid during pleasure, for the purposes of parliamentary corruption. On this head, Mr. Byng declared it as a fact, founded on authority which he could not doubt, that the minister, at the close of every session, had a settlement of such pensions to make; that a private list of names, with the several sums proportioned to their respective services or merits, was then produced; and that as soon as the money was paid, the paper was burnt, in order to leave no memory of the transaction. Here the lord advocate of Scotland interfered, and called on the opposition, if they were possessed of any proofs, to come forward with them, and name the delinquents; but not to throw about charges of such a nature at random, if they were not able to support and establish them. But to this it was replied, That the learned gentleman *well knew* they could not possibly possess the species of evidence which the rules of that house rendered

rendered necessary to fix such specific charges. The great object of the motion was to obtain that very evidence which was now demanded, but which the minister absolutely refused to grant, at the same time that while his advocates saw the means were withheld, they boldly demanded the evidence which could not be given without them.

It was totally denied that the civil-list revenue was in any manner of way to be compared to that of a private estate. Great part of it was applied to national purposes, and to the support of the splendour of the crown. Parliament had a right, and had been accustomed to make inquiry into the application; and were it otherwise, the whole might be perverted and applied to the most dangerous purposes.

In this debate the minister was left almost entirely alone, except what little assistance was given by the two crown lawyers. Upon which colonel Barré remarked, that not one Englishman had dared to stand up, in the course of the whole day, to support the minister; and that one of his two friends enjoyed sinecure places in Scotland, while the other was looking up to the first situation in the law department of England. The minister being therefore prodigiously harassed, and frequently obliged to shift his ground, his temper at length was ruffled. However, the dispute was at last carried in his favour by a majority of no more than two, there being for lord North's amendment 188, against it 186. Opposition were exasperated at the defeat; being persuaded that they had strength enough to have gained their point, could they have persuaded all their friends at that time in town to attend. Sir George Saville declared, that the motion, in its present state, was totally changed from what he had proposed, and could not convey to his constituents that information which he had thought it his duty to endeavour to procure; he should therefore give the matter entirely up, and for the future never trouble himself or his friends, by fruitlessly opposing ministers in whatever point they had determined to carry.

Whatever might be the private feelings of that excellent

lent patriot at this disappointment, the opposition in general were far from discouraged at the present appearance of political affairs. Mr. Burke's economical bill, having been read a first time, was proposed for a second reading. But the minister, instead of using any arguments against it, charged the minority with precipitating a measure not sufficiently considered; until at last being called upon to declare, whether he would oppose it on the second reading, or let it go to a committee, he declared, after much apparent irresolution, that he did not mean to oppose it. The bill being then read a second time without opposition, another debate ensued on its commitment. Mr. Burke insisted on its being committed the ensuing day, and the minister that it should be delayed for some time. The reasons given on his part were, the vast magnitude and variety of the objects included in it; though by opposition it was imputed to the desire of procrastinating an event which he could not get totally rid of. After some altercation, however, the question was carried in favour of the minister by 230 to 195.

In the committee on the 8th of March, doubts were suggested by Mr. Rigby, paymaster of the forces, concerning the competency of parliament to consider any thing relative to the expenditure of the civil-list.

Though opposition now contended, that the full principle of the bill had been already admitted, yet they did not think proper to insist much on that head, but instantly entered with great vigour into the debate of the competency of the measure. The ministers, though much disposed to adopt the opposite doctrine, were by no means pleased at the introduction of such a subject at this time, and in the temper in which the nation in general was at present. They endeavoured, therefore, to get rid of it as handsomely as they could, by applauding the doctrine, and complimenting the speakers in favour of it; but declined the consideration of the merits of the question itself, on account of its being an abstract proposition, which it was improper to discuss, unless it had been introduced in public business immediately before the house. Opposition, however, were by no means inclined to suffer them to escape

escape from the dilemma in which they were involved. Mr. Fox attacked the doctrine with all that strength of argument, and keenness of irony and satire, for which he had been always so much distinguished. He insisted, that this question must be first dismissed before the subject of the bill could be at all discussed. And he concluded a most animated speech by declaring, that if the proposition should be agreed to by a majority of the house, he should consider his toils and labours as at an end; and as his presence there could be of no farther use or consequence, he should never again enter it.

On the other hand, the friends of administration insisted, that Mr. Rigby's proposition did not by any means involve a denial of the right to reform abuses; but only asserted the injustice of interfering with the civil-list expenditure, without proper proof of abuse previous to the interference. This maxim, they said, was supported by the constitution, admitting the right to exist in the strongest manner in which it had been stated or supposed on the other side. But as the purport of the proposition had already been misconceived or misrepresented within doors, there could be no doubt of its being much more so out of doors; nor could they derive the extreme eagerness shown by opposition to bring the honourable gentleman's proposal under discussion, from any other motive than a desire to furnish grounds for false reports, if the house should agree to it.

This mode of reasoning was much ridiculed by the leaders of opposition. The supposed injustice of inquiry before proof, they said, was in the highest degree absurd; being in truth the same with asserting, that though a man ought to be punished for the commission of a crime, it would be unjust to try him until his guilt were fully proved. The question being at length put, "Whether the house should resolve itself into a committee on Mr. Burke's bill, or first enter into a discussion of Mr. Rigby's proposition?"—it was decided in favour of ministry by a majority only of six; a most unusual division on the part of the minority, which was rendered still more remarkable by the circumstance of Mr. Rigby's voting in the minority,

city, and in direct opposition to all his friends in administration.

The first clause in the bill was that for abolishing the office of third secretary of state, called also secretary for the colonies; and which was afterwards modified to the simple description of one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state. The principal arguments used in favour of administration were, That parliament had no right to interfere in the civil-list expenditure; and even though this right should be granted, it could only be in cases of gross abuse, previously and incontestably proved. When that was once done, the house was undoubtedly competent to point out to the sovereign the proper mode of removing and correcting them: But that mode was not by passing a law of resumption; a method which, if at all resorted to, should only be in cases of the last extremity, when all other means had been tried and found ineffectual. They ought likewise to consider what the abolition led to. The clause before them made but a part, and a very small one, of the multifarious bill to which it belonged. But if the propriety of this clause should be established, the same principle would reach to every other part of the bill, and even the domestic arrangements of his majesty within the palace would be disturbed. Besides, it could not, with any shadow of justice, be asserted either that the place was a sinecure, or that it was attended with exorbitant fees, perquisites, or emoluments; that it was a heavy or expensive establishment, or a great source of influence in the house. If it should be said that it was useless or unnecessary, it was incumbent on those who made the assertion to produce some proof; at the same time, that they ought to establish the right, as well as show the expediency of interfering with the sovereign in such an indelicate manner, as that of resuming a gift which had been once granted him, and that too on his accession; a grant which he received as a compensation for the ample revenue to which he was entitled from the very instant he was proclaimed king. On this occasion it was also argued, that there had been a third secretary of state as early as the reign of Edward VI.; and even in the late reign, which it
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was now the fashion to hold out as the purest model of political virtue, it had subsisted for several years; so that it was in fact no new office, but an old one revived. But whether the office was old or new, an objection of great weight was, that it gave rise to a most dangerous precedent, and established it as a maxim, that the legislature were the only proper judges of the detailed exercise of the executive power. This would affect not only every establishment already made, but which might hereafter be made; at the same time, that it divested the crown of one of its most valuable rights and prerogatives, and would disable it from discharging those duties which were vested in it by the constitution, by taking away the right and exercise of judgment with respect to the manner in which it could most faithfully and effectually discharge those duties.

In answer to this, besides urging a variety of arguments in the most strenuous manner, the opposition endeavoured to show, that the historical facts adduced by administration, in order to prove that an office similar to that now in dispute had formerly existed, were only so many attempts to show, that though the uselessness of an office was discovered upon trial, it ought nevertheless to be continued. The question was not with regard to the customs of ancient or modern princes, but merely with respect to the utility of the office. On this subject it was sufficient to observe, that the nation had risen to the highest pitch of glory and power, as well as increased in population, to a degree unknown in other nations, when no more than two secretaries of state were employed; nay, it was contended, that every happy feature in that picture had disappeared on the appointment of a third secretary. That appointment had been the means of not only losing the colonies, but converting them into our most bitter enemies; and, along with the loss of our colonies and commerce, we had suffered such disgrace in the eyes of every European power, as this country had never before experienced. The argument on the part of opposition was concluded by observing, that to a stranger it would seem, from the reasoning made use of by administration, that

that they were endeavouring to deprive the king of the money allotted for his privy purse, or to curtail the means of his personal pleasures, amusements, or satisfaction. No person, however, could be so blind as not to perceive that the objects were totally distinct. The proposed reform went to that great part of the civil-list establishment, which, being dedicated to public purposes, was consequently liable to public reform; and in which the sovereign, acting only as the trustee of the people, could have no other interest than that which was so constantly denied, of supporting an undue and corrupt influence. That revenue, they contended, like all others, must be affected by the exigencies of the times, and proportioned to the ability of the public by which it was granted and paid. At the accession of his majesty, when a large revenue was granted and paid for life, the nation was great, flourishing, and glorious beyond example. The liberality of the grant was suited to the happiness of the time. The smallest notice was not then given of the fatal designs which lay in embryo, or of the ruinous measures that were to be pursued. At that time the loss of America and our West India islands was not so much as dreamed of. It was evident then, that the superstructure could have no greater stability than the foundation. Even supposing, what can never be admitted, that the granters had no power of revocation, still the revenue must depend upon their ability to pay it. To suppose that the establishments of the sovereign would not be affected by the public distresses and calamities of the country, was such an absurdity as not to deserve any answer or notice. It was scarcely less than treason to royalty even to suppose that the sovereign would not willingly participate in the evil as well as the good fortune of his subjects.

At a quarter before three o'clock in the morning, the committee divided, and the office of third secretary of state was preserved by a majority of no more than seven, the numbers being 208 against 201.

In the next clause of the bill the opposition were more successful. This was the abolition of the board of trade. On this subject the opponents of ministry endeavoured to

prove, that the board in question was totally inefficient and useless; or, if at any time it was active, it became either mischievous or ridiculous; but of late it had dwindled into a mere sinecure office, which answered no other purpose, than that of providing eight members for parliament, and securing their votes to the minister by a pension of a thousand a year each. On this occasion it was shown, that when the business of trade and plantations had been managed by a committee of council without salaries, it had been attended by persons of greater rank, weight, and ability, and that much more difficult and delicate business was transacted with more expedition and satisfaction than after the appointment of the board of trade. The question was called after two in the morning, when the abolition of the board was carried against ministry by a majority of eight; the numbers being 207 against 199. Some members in opposition had endeavoured to persuade the lords of trade to withdraw before the division, on the footing of decency; but the question was too interesting for them to make any sacrifice to delicacy and punctilio on such an occasion.

During the debates on this subject it was first discovered, that the minister and sir Fletcher Norton, the speaker of the house of commons, were on bad terms. Mr. Fox having called up the latter to give his private opinion as a member, and his professional one as a lawyer, on the competency of parliament to control the civil-list revenue, the speaker, after stating several other reasons against complying with Mr. Fox's request, declared also, that he had formerly given an opinion with regard to a law question in that house (supposed to allude to a clause in the royal marriage bill), which not only subjected him to a misinterpretation of his conduct; but he had also the misfortune to find, that he had thereby given offence in a quarter where he certainly did not intend or wish to give any. He then took notice, that the minister had long withdrawn from him all friendship and confidence: That from the time of his reporting the sense of that house at the bar of the other, on delivering the money bills for the discharge of the civil-list debts, and the increase of its revenue,

venue, all appearances of friendship and confidence had ceased on the part of the ministry; though he was still at a loss to guess what just cause of offence he had given. After apologizing for his conduct on that occasion, and giving some hints of a recent injury he had received, he declared, that he was not a friend to the minister, and he had repeated and convincing proofs that the minister was no friend to him. The time, however, was not yet arrived when it would be proper to make the circumstances of the transaction public: But, if the noble lord did not do him justice, he would state the particulars to the house; and he would submit to them, how far he was bound to remain in a situation, where a performance of the duties annexed to it subjected him to gross and flagrant injury.

The minister expressed the greatest surprise at this charge, as well as ignorance concerning any thing that could possibly have given occasion to it; which at length induced sir Fletcher to depart from his proposed intention of keeping secret the injury he had received, and to lay it before the house. It was stated by sir Fletcher, that upon the death of the late speaker, he had been strongly solicited by the minister at that time (the duke of Grafton) to accept of the honourable station of speaker of the house of commons. As he had then several very strong objections to his acceptance of the place in question; particularly, that his business as a lawyer would thereby be interrupted; the minister endeavoured to remove that objection, by promising, that in consequence of the advantages he had given up, he should be entitled to hold the sinecure place of chief justice in eyre, which he now possessed. But notwithstanding this, he had lately discovered, to his great surprise, that a negotiation was then on foot between the present minister, and the chief judge of one of the courts, by which the latter was to retire on a pension, for the purpose of enabling another to supply his place, and to the utter subversion of his own claim. He assured the committee, that he never meant to challenge their attention upon any subject merely personal to himself: But thinking at all times, that nothing ought to be kept more pure and unpolluted than the fountains of public justice, he could not

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but feel when any measure was adopted, under whatever Pretext, that might afford even a colour of their being Corrupted, or that any improper means were used for rendering the courts of justice subservient to party and to factious views; on which account, he thought it incumbent upon him to relate the whole transaction. Money, he said, had been proposed to be given and received to a very large amount, to bring about the arrangement he had mentioned; and he pledged himself to the house, that at a proper time he would bring a satisfactory proof of what he had asserted.

To all this the minister replied, that he did not look upon himself to be responsible for any promise which might have been made by his predecessors in office. He did not question the account given by the right honourable gentleman of the considerations on which he had accepted the chair; but he could fairly answer, that he neither knew of the transactions at the time, nor looked upon himself as bound, when he did come into office, by any such promise. With respect to the speaker's assertion, that a negotiation, such as he had described, was on foot, and that money had been proposed to be given and received, he totally denied it; assuring the speaker, that he had been grossly misinformed; and, as he himself was accused of being one of the acting parties, he was entitled to say, that no such negotiation was on foot.

This produced such a scene of altercation between these two illustrious antagonists as had never before been exhibited in the British parliament; but though the affair made a noise at the time, it produced no farther effect, than that of furnishing opposition with a new argument, namely, that the alarming influence of the crown had not only pervaded, but deranged every part of the national economy.

In the beginning of March, lord Shelburne endeavoured to draw from ministry some explanation of their conduct, relative to the dismissal of the marquis of Carmarthen and the earl of Pembroke, from the offices which these noblemen held, as no better reason appeared to the house, in their having voted on a particular question contrary
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to the will of administration. Such proceedings lord Shelburne looked upon to be the most dangerous extent of undue influence the country had ever met with, and that parliament ought not to sit tamely under it. The principal argument which ministry and their friends used on this occasion, tended to establish the great impropriety of parliamentary interference in the dismissal of ministers, which was a privilege vested in the crown alone. Upon a division, the noble mover found himself in a minority of 39 to 92. His lordship, on this occasion, had made very free with the appointment of a Mr. Fullarton, originally a clerk, to the command of a regiment. This censure Mr. Fullarton construed into that species of dishonouring aspersion which a soldier ought not to bear with tameness, and after having made bitter complaints to the house of commons, of which he was a member, he required of lord Shelburne a meeting in Hyde-Park. Lord Shelburne was wounded, but not dangerously. The same afternoon, March 22d, sir James Lowther introduced the subject into the house of commons. He said, that this custom of fighting duels in consequence of parliamentary business, or of expressions dropped in either house, seemed growing into such a custom, that it was necessary for them to interpose their authority, before it acquired the force of a settled habit, otherwise that there must be an end of all freedom of debate, and consequently of all business in parliament. He therefore hoped, that the house would exert itself in such a manner as to render the two recent instances the last of the kind. If free debate was to be interpreted into personal attack, and questions of a public nature to be decided by the sword, it would be better totally to give up all ideas of parliamentary discussion, and to resort at once to the field, where, without farther trouble, they might have recourse to arms as the only method of settling political differences.

The inquiry was strongly opposed by Mr. Fullarton's friends, on the footing of impropriety or indelicacy while he was absent. To this sir James replied, that he had no intention of pushing the matter farther at present; but that

that he was determined to bring it forward in some shape or other; and he desired Mr. Fullarton's friends to inform him of his intention. On the other hand, the members in opposition contended, that the words spoken by the earl were, in the strictest sense, parliamentary language. The honourable gentleman had confounded public debate with private conversation; and having drawn the line of distinction betwixt these two, they concluded, that without the free discussion which they had pointed out, there could in fact be no room for agitating any question at all. The debates on this subject, indeed, produced so little good effect in the way of conciliating matters, that they had well nigh given occasion to another quarrel betwixt Mr. Fox and a gentleman in high office. The public took part in the affair, and the earl of Shelburne was congratulated from all quarters on his recovery, received the most flattering acknowledgments on account of his spirited and patriotic behaviour, and one county passed a vote of censure, by which they declared the late attacks on Mr. Fox and the earl of Shelburne to be highly reprehensible.

The 20th of March, Mr. Burke's third clause, for the abolition of the offices of treasurer of the chamber, treasurer of the household, cofferer, and a number of subordinate places belonging to them, was introduced to the committee. This was regarded by many of the friends of administration with the greatest horror, as a kind of sacrilege with regard to the person and dignity of the sovereign. This, they said, was not a regulation of office; it was an intrusion into the king's own household. The state had nothing to do with the domestic servants of the king. The bill they considered from the beginning as a systematic attack on the constitution, and the pernicious tendency of it appeared every day more and more. The question with them was not the utility of the employments, but the power of taking them away. If this could be done by parliament, the king had nothing that he could call his own. They represented the scheme of supplying the household by contract, as mean, degrading, and vexatious,

ous, suited rather to the mode of feeding the poor in work-houses than to the splendour and dignity of a court, and that in the richest country in the world.

On the other hand, it was argued by opposition, that the supposed insult and indignity to the sovereign was too absurd to deserve any answer. Nothing was to be touched that could either affect the personal satisfaction and pleasures of the sovereign, or diminish the splendour and magnificence of the throne. They asked, Whether the French monarch had suffered any loss of reputation either in the opinion of his own subjects, or of others, by the prodigious reform which he had so successfully made in his own household? The king was already furnished with many things in the way of contract, though in the worst manner possible. The late prince of Wales, his majesty's father, was furnished in this manner. Even at the present time, when the court intended any thing worthy of its state, it was so furnished. It was more princely, they said, to be supplied at large, and on one great scale, than by small and pitiful detail. With regard to the king's living in a state of dependance on the people, it was the very circumstance of his dignity; that which constituted him a king; and, instead of being any disgrace, was the highest honour at which he could arrive.

Mr. Burke himself insisted very much upon the present clause of the bill; and said, that if this was carried against him, he would consider the whole as lost. The office of treasurer of the chamber was the first office he had fixed upon; it led the way, and involved all the rest. He concluded by declaring, that he would not continue to torture his weak and disordered constitution by fighting his bill through inch by inch, but would leave it to the people at large to go on with it as they thought proper; and they would judge by the event, how far their petitions were likely to procure redress for the grievances they complained of.

In this manner the debates were carried on till very late, when the question was lost by 210 to 158. Mr. Burke then declared his total indifference as to what became of the rest of the bill; but Mr. Fox encouraged him

to go on. The mere abolition of the board of trade, even if nothing more was done, he said, was worth the struggle; for as he was determined, and hoped his honourable friend would join him, in renewing his bill from session to session, they would have seven fewer of the enemy to encounter the next time. The succeeding parts were accordingly gone through, and each of them negatived without a division.

On the 6th of April administration met with a severe defeat; a more remarkable resolution having been adopted than any that had been passed in the British parliament since the revolution. The day had been previously appointed for taking into consideration the petitions of the people of England, amounting to 40 in number, and filled with such immense numbers of subscriptions as occupied a most astonishing bulk. The business was introduced by Mr. Dunning; who, with his usual eloquence and ability, observed, that though the petitions conveyed many different ideas, they all agreed in one fundamental principle, which was, the setting limits to the dangerous, increased, and unconstitutional influence of the crown; and a request of an economical method of spending the public money. Though these appeared to be two different subjects, they were, he said, very strictly connected. If the public money was faithfully applied, and frugally expended, it would in its effect reduce the undue influence of the crown; and if, on the other hand, that influence should be reduced within its due bounds, it would immediately restore the energy of parliament, and once more give efficacy to the exercise of that great power of seeing to the disposal, and controlling the expenditure of the public money, with which the constitution had invested the house. Having stated at great length the little regard which had been paid to the petitions of so many counties, he concluded, that as every means had failed of producing the desired effect, he thought it his duty, and it was the duty of the house, to take some determinate measure, by which the people might certainly know what they had to trust to, and whether their petitions were adopted or rejected; and, in order to bring matters fairly to a decision, he said, that

that he should now frame two propositions, abstracted from the petitions on the table, and take the sense of the committee upon them.

The first of these propositions was, that “the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.” The fact, he said, was notorious. But as a collateral evidence, he observed, that nothing less than the most alarming and corrupt influence could induce a number of gentlemen in that house to support the minister by their votes in those measures which they reprobated without doors as absurd and ruinous. This he declared upon his honour to be the case, and within his own immediate knowledge; and he added, that he himself had never bestowed upon the measures of administration such severe epithets as had fallen in his presence from the mouths of members abroad, who had nevertheless supported them within the walls of the house. Nor was the number small who behaved in this manner, as he had it in his power, were not the task too invidious, to point out more than fifty members who held such strange language and conduct.

On this trying occasion the ministry defended themselves by calling Mr. Dunning’s resolution an *abstract proposition*, which ought not to come before the house. In other respects it was entirely useless, being neither calculated to avert any evil, nor to point out any remedy; it was unsupported by facts; and as for the allegations of Mr. Dunning, they could answer for themselves, that they were totally without foundation. The very unfortunate circumstances of the times, when the people were universally discontented by the consequences of a ruinous war, and their own heavy burdens, showed that the influence of the crown could not be increasing. It was besides very unfair to represent matters in such a light as if the influence of the crown had only taken place during the present administration. This was a censure of such a severe nature, that the most substantial and solid proofs were evidently required before it could be adopted; whereas there was not a single word of evidence tending in any manner

manner of way to show, that the present administration was in the least different from those which had gone before it.

The speaker (sir Fletcher Norton) now joined his influence to that of opposition. He said, that however disagreeable it might be to him to take any part in the debates of the house, there were some cases, and he considered the present as one of them, in which it would be criminal to remain silent. He affirmed, from his own knowledge, that the influence of the crown was increasing; but, at the same time, he asserted, that the allegation could admit of no proofs; it could only be known by the members of the house who were to decide upon it as jurors, from the internal conviction arising in their minds. After appealing to the feelings of the gentlemen who heard him, and pointing out how idle it was to prescribe limits to the prerogatives of the crown, while they permitted a more dangerous, because concealed influence to remain, he observed, that the government of Britain, under its true and proper definition of "a monarchy limited by law," required no other assistance for the exercise of its functions, than what it derived from the constitution and the laws. The powers vested in the executive part of government, and, in his opinion, wisely placed there, were abundantly sufficient for every useful purpose of government, and without any further assistance were too ample for the purposes of bad government; and he thought himself bound, as an honest man, to declare, that the influence of the crown had increased far beyond the bounds of a monarchy strictly limited in its nature and extent. He likewise observed, that it was no doubt very galling to the house to be informed of their duty by the petitioners; but they ought to recollect, that it was entirely their own fault. What the petitioners now demanded ought to have originated within the walls of the house; and then, what would now bear the appearance of too much compulsion, would have been received with gratitude. But, at all events, they ought to consider that they were then sitting as the representatives of the people, and solely for their advantage and benefit, and that they in duty stood pledged

to that people, as their creators, for the faithful discharge of their trust.

The authority of the speaker had such an effect, that the ministerial party soon found the question going against them. The lord advocate of Scotland, in order to prevent it from being lost, proposed such an amendment as he supposed would be rejected by opposition, and consequently that the whole would fall to the ground. The amendment consisted in inserting the words, "That it is now necessary to declare;" but in this he was mistaken: The amendment was readily and unexpectedly agreed to by the opposite party; and on a division the numbers were in favour of the motion 233, against it 215; so that the court was left in a minority of 18. Mr. Dunning then moved, "that it was competent to that house to examine into and to correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil-list, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it shall seem expedient to the house to do so." This was opposed by lord North, who, in the strongest terms, expressed his wishes that the committee would not proceed. The motion was nevertheless agreed to by the house. Mr. Thomas Pitt then moved, "that it was the duty of that house to provide, as far as might be, an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented to the house from the different counties, cities, and towns in this kingdom." The minister once more earnestly implored the committee to desist, but with no effect; the motion was agreed to. It was lastly moved by Mr. Fox, "that the resolutions should be immediately reported to the house;" which was deprecated and protested against by lord North, as violent, arbitrary, and contrary to the established usage of parliament. The motion, however, was carried, and the chairman reporting the resolutions accordingly, they were severally agreed to by the house.

On the 10th of April, the committee being resumed, Mr. Dunning "congratulated the house upon the late decisions, which he however said, could avail little unless the house proceeded effectually to remedy the grievances complained of by the people. The alarming and increasing

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influence of the crown being now admitted by a solemn decision of that house, it was incumbent upon them to go from generals to particulars. With a view therefore of extirpating that corrupt influence, he should move, "that there be laid before the house every session, within seven days after the meeting of parliament, an account of all monies paid out of the civil revenue to, or for the use of, or in trust for, any member of parliament since the last recess." This was objected to by lord North, the lord advocate of Scotland, the attorney-general Wedderburne, &c. but was carried without a division. Mr. Dunning then moved, "that the persons holding the offices of treasurer of the chamber, treasurer of the household, cofferer of the household, comptroller of the household, master of the household, clerks of the green cloth, and their deputies, should be rendered incapable of a seat in that house." This was again opposed, and by the same persons as before; but on a division was carried by a majority of 215 to 213 voices. So far the patriotic party in parliament had triumphantly proceeded, to the infinite joy of the disinterested and independent part of the public, when the sudden illness of the speaker obliged the house to adjourn to the 24th of April; on which day, the committee being resumed, Mr. Dunning moved for an address, "that his majesty would be pleased not to dissolve the parliament or prorogue the present session until the objects of the petitions were answered." When the house, after a vehement debate, came to a division on this important question, it was at once discovered that the unfortunate illness of the speaker had infected "the very life-blood of their enterprise;" the motion being rejected by a majority of 254 to 203.

On the question being carried, Mr. Fox rose to speak, but the ministerial party, dreading his eloquence, especially after such provocation, resolved that he should not be heard. A most extraordinary scene of confusion and disorder ensued; and the chair being repeatedly called upon to exercise its authority, the speaker at length, with the utmost vehemence of voice, called upon every side of the house to order; and having caused the bar to be cleared
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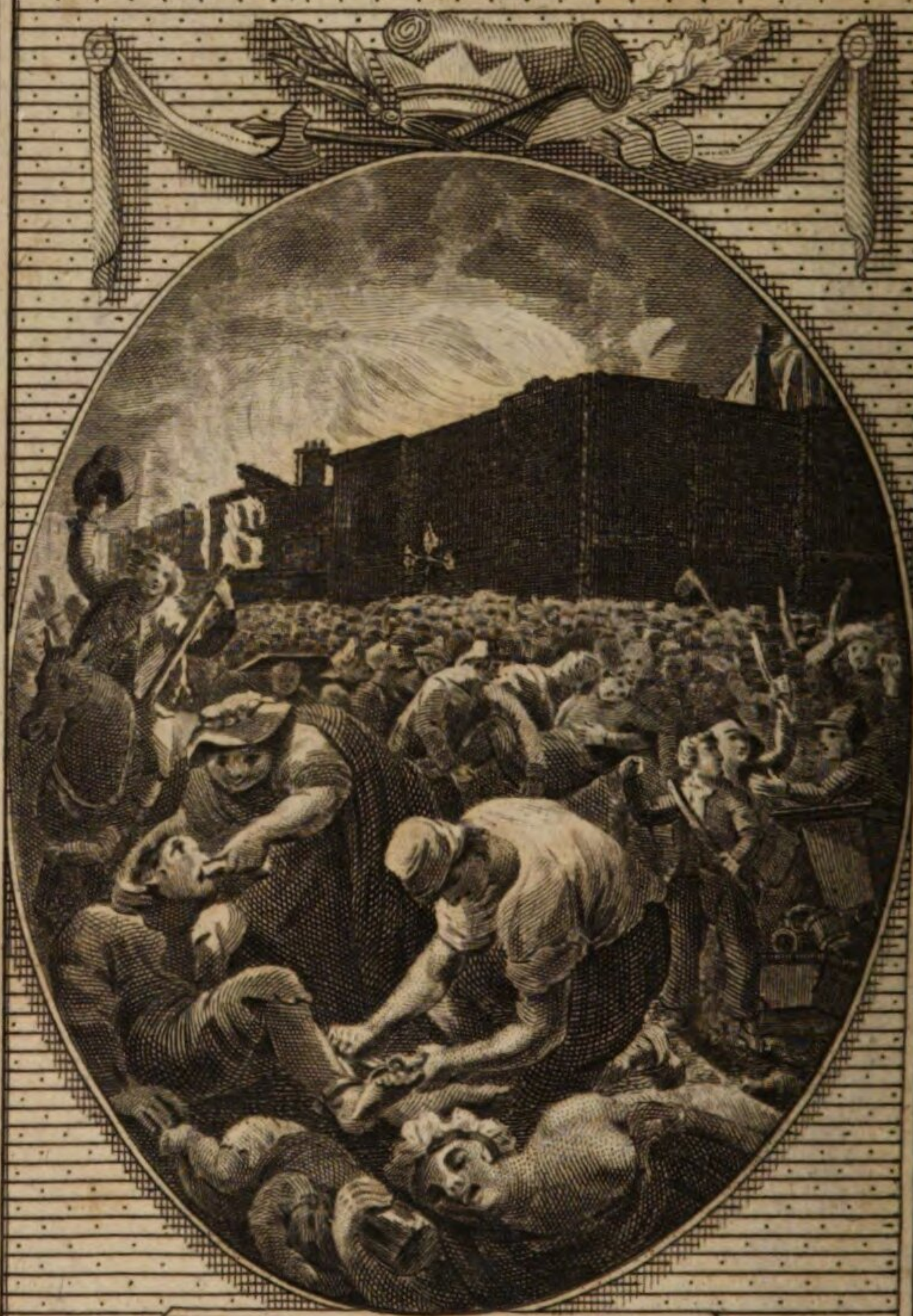
by the proper officers, required and insisted that every member should take his place. The way being thus cleared for Mr. Fox, the deserters were condemned to hear their conduct represented in such a manner as perhaps was never done on any occasion in that house before, the severity of which was aggravated by the consciousness that the treatment they received was not unmerited.

Mr. Fox was seconded in his censure by Mr. Dunning, and a direct charge of treachery against the nation was brought by both. The counties, they said, depending on the faith of parliament for the redress held out by those resolutions, had relaxed greatly in the measures they had formerly pursued for obtaining it by other means; and the county of Cambridge in particular had, upon that dependance, rescinded its own resolution of appointing a committee of association. They both likewise declared, that the division of this night was totally decisive with regard to the petitions; that it amounted to a full and general rejection of their prayer; and that all hope of obtaining any redress for the people in that house was at an end. The minister replied in his usual strain of address; and the house being now disposed to assent to whatever he said, the affair of reformation was totally abandoned, and the remainder of Mr. Burke's establishment bill was rejected as fast as it was proposed.

The extraordinaries of the army were now brought under consideration by colonel Barré, who had taken great pains to investigate the subject. The result of his investigations was, that from the 31st of January 1779, to the 1st of February 1780, the sum of 1,528,027l. 2s. was stated in the papers presented to that house, to have been applied to the service of the land forces in North America; of which sum no account was ever produced to the public, though the said sum was over and above the pay, clothing, and provisions, with the expense of freight and armament attending them, ordnance, transport service, oats, blankets, expense of Indians, pay of certain general and staff officers, pay of several commissioners, and other allowances for the said forces. He then showed, that the sum of 3,796,543l. had been applied

plied to the service of the land forces in North America during the years 1775, 1776, 1777, and 1778, of which no account had been laid before parliament, though the said sums had been over and above every allowance of the kind already mentioned for the troops, including also contingents for rum, &c. He moved therefore, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that the practice of incurring and paying extraordinaries of the army to so large an amount, and without the authority of parliament, is not warranted by precedent, is a dangerous invasion of the rights of this house, and one of the gross abuses of the expenditure of the public money complained of in the petitions of the people.—That it is the opinion of this committee, that the creation of new, unnecessary, or sinecure offices in the army, with considerable emoluments, is a profusion of the public money, and the more alarming, as it tends to increase the unconstitutional influence of the crown." These motions, though supported by so much ability in the proposer, were all of them rejected by considerable majorities.

The triumph of the ministry was soon completed, and every attempt at reformation was rendered for ever fruitless in this country by the proceedings of an intolerant and lawless mob. The offence which the repeal of the penal laws against papists gave to the people of Scotland, and the violent proceedings of the intemperate zealots in that part of the kingdom, have been already noticed. The prejudice was gradually extended to England, and much pains were taken by inflammatory harangues and pamphlets to prejudice the minds of the people against the late wise and salutary relaxation of the penal code. It was at length determined to prepare a petition for a repeal of the law in question, which is affirmed to have obtained 120,000 signatures, *or marks*, of men of the lowest orders of society, whose excess of zeal could be equalled only by the grossness of their ignorance; a combination of qualities at once ridiculous and terrible. Lord George Gordon, the president of the protestant associations both in England and Scotland, who was also a member of the house of commons, declined to present this petition, unless



Riots at Newgate. 1780.

less he were accompanied to the house by at least 20,000 men.

A public meeting of the association was, in consequence, convened in St. George's Fields, June 2, 1780, whence it was supposed that not less than 50,000 persons proceeded in regular divisions, with lord George Gordon at their head, to the house of commons, where their petition was presented by their president. Towards evening this multitude began to grow very tumultuous, and grossly insulted various members of both houses, compelling them in passing to and from the house to cry, *No Popery!* and to wear blue cockades. During the debates on the petition, lord George Gordon frequently addressed the mob without, in terms calculated to inflame their passions, and expressly stating to them, "that the people of Scotland had no redress till they pulled down the popish chapels." After the adjournment of the house, the mob, on this suggestion, immediately proceeded to the demolition of the chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian ambassadors. The military being ordered out could not prevent the mischief, but apprehended various of the ringleaders.

The next day, Saturday, passed quietly; but on Sunday the rioters reassembled in vast numbers, and destroyed the chapels and private dwellings belonging to the principal catholics in the vicinity of Moorfields.

On Monday they extended their devastations to other parts of the town; and sir George Saville's house, in Leicester Fields, was totally demolished by these blind and barbarous bigots—that distinguished senator and patriot having had the honour to be the first mover of the bill.

On Tuesday, the day appointed for taking the petition into consideration, the mob again surrounded the parliament-house, and renewed their outrages and insults. The house, after passing some resolutions adapted to the occasion, and expressive of their just indignation, immediately adjourned. In the evening the populace, now grown more daring than ever, attacked the prison of Newgate, where their comrades were confined, with astonishing resolution; and, setting the building in flames, liberated more than 300

felons and debtors resident within its walls. Encouraged by the impunity with which they had hitherto acted, they now proceeded to lord Mansfield's house in Bloomsbury Square, which they totally demolished, his lordship escaping not without difficulty. The prisons of Clerkenwell were also forced, many private houses plundered or destroyed, and scarcely did the night afford any cessation of the riots.

On Wednesday, the King's Bench prison, the Fleet, and the house of Mr. Langdale, a distiller in Holborn, were marked for destruction; and as the evening approached, a scene presented itself, the outlines of which may be described, but the human imagination is incapable of conveying those sensations of horror which filled the breasts of those who saw it. At the same instant the King's Bench and Fleet prisons, New Bridewell, the toll-gates on Blackfriars bridge, the large houses at the bottom of Holborn, and various houses in other parts of the town, to the number of 36, were seen in flames.—Some wretches were burnt at the houses of distillers; the spirits were brought out in pailfuls, and not only common but non-rectified spirits were drunk with avidity. At one time a piece of ruins fell on the heads of these devoted miscreants; at another they were discovered nodding over the fire, and so desperately insensible of their situation, and incapable to move, through intoxication, that many of them were seen to drop into eternity, in a manner too shocking for description. The same day attempts were made on the Bank, and the Pay-office; but these places being strongly guarded, they failed, and many of the rioters embraced an untimely and unprepared death at the hand of the military, rather than abandon their destructive pursuits. This night was the most dreadful of any; the numbers of the killed cannot be ascertained; but as far as report enables us to estimate them they stand thus; 109 killed by association troops and guards, 101 by light-horse, and 75 died in the hospitals. Those who were present speak of these scenes as exceeding any thing recorded in our annals. Before noon, on Thursday, the regulars and militia

militia from the country had put a stop to any further devastations.

In the mean time, about 200 members of the house of commons had the courage to assemble in that place, under the protection of the military. Some resolutions were passed; one was, an assertion of their own privileges; the second was for a committee of inquiry into the late and present outrages, and for the discovery of their promoters and abettors; a third for a prosecution by the attorney-general; and the fourth for an address to his majesty for the reimbursement of the foreign ministers to the amount of the damages they had sustained by the rioters. But the news of the conflagration begun in the city, arriving, occasioned their hasty adjournment. On Thursday the 8th of June, lord George Gordon was taken into custody and conveyed to the horse guards, where he underwent an examination before the lord president, lord North, lord Amherst, the secretaries of state, and several lords of the privy council, and in the evening was committed a close prisoner to the Tower. He was attended thither by a greater force than ever was known on any similar occasion. Lord George Gordon was in the following year brought to trial for high treason, and acquitted of all the charges; nor among all those who were apprehended, brought to trial, and hanged, were there any proved to belong to that company who assembled in St. George's Fields.

Thus ended this disgraceful affair. Though the ministry, however, artfully endeavoured to throw the whole of the riots on the intolerant spirit of the protestant association, yet it is certain that their own unpopularity greatly served to increase that spirit of discontent in the people, which, on the slightest occasion, was ready to break out into violence. The American war, and the misery it occasioned, was what gave spirit and vigour to the proceedings of the protestant association, and popularity to the mobs which assembled. The actual mischief, however, was done by the felons who were rescued from the prisons, joined by a set of miscreants, who are ever ready to take the opportunity of
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any popular commotion to plunder and rob their fellow-citizens.

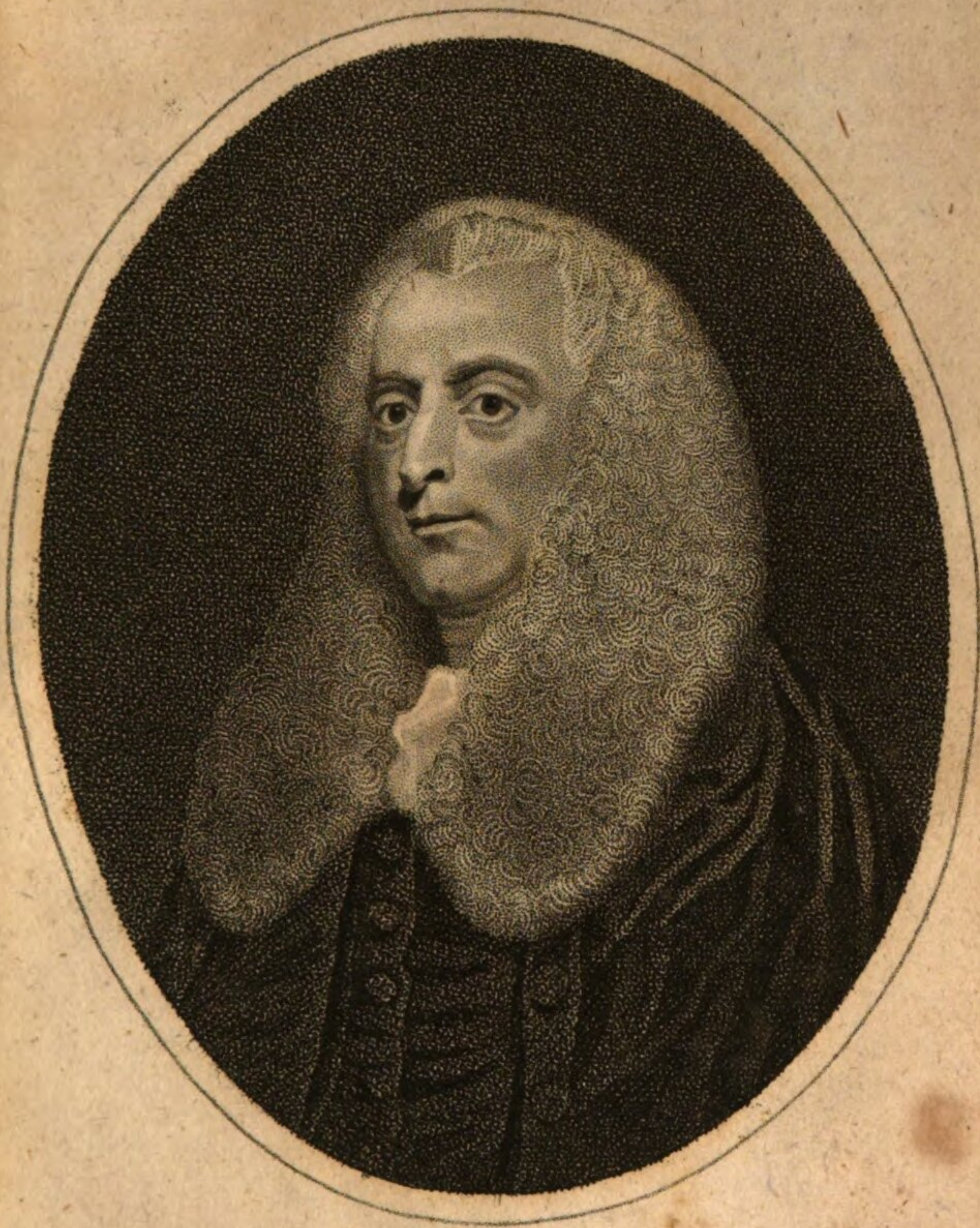
It was determined in a committee of the whole house of commons, that no repeal should take place of the act in favour of the Roman catholics, as the grievances said to arise from it were imaginary: They came to resolutions in order to set the conduct of parliament in a fair light, and to undeceive the ill-informed but well-meaning part of the petitioners. On Saturday, July the 8th, his majesty closed this tedious session with a speech, in which he expressed his satisfaction at the magnanimity and perseverance of his faithful commons.

In the course of the summer a special commission was issued for the trial of the rioters, of whom a very great number, consisting of men very opposite in description and character, were apprehended. Lord chief justice De Grey, whose mild and benignant disposition, as well as his infirm health, was ill suited to this painful task, willingly resigning his office; the attorney-general Wedderburne was advanced to the chief justiceship, under the title of lord Loughborough. The multiplicity combined with the precipitate and indiscriminate severity of the sentences passed in his judicial capacity by this magistrate upon the rioters, far exceeded any thing known in this country since the days of judge Jefferies: Such indeed as left the memory of these transactions impressed upon the public mind in indelible characters of blood.

On the 1st of September, a proclamation was issued for the dissolution of the parliament, and for calling a new one.

While intestine violence and riot shook the capital, our fleets abroad met with success, which served to console the unthinking populace for past misfortunes.

The close investment of Gibraltar immediately succeeded the Spanish declaration of war. It was about the middle of August 1779, when the enemy's troops first began to break ground before that fortress. Though the Spanish batteries were not sufficiently in forwardness



LORD LOUGHBOROUGH.

to annoy the garrison to any extent, they suffered much from a dreadful scarcity. Thistles, dandelion, &c. were the daily food of multitudes. The squadron, therefore, which had been fitted out, in the latter end of 1779, for the defence of the West Indies, under the command of admiral sir George Rodney, was ordered, in its way, to touch at Gibraltar, to relieve it from the blockade, and to convoy thither a considerable fleet of transports with necessaries for the garrison. He had been but a few days at sea, when a fortunate chance threw in his way a convoy bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz, consisting of 15 sail of merchantmen, under the protection of a fine new sixty-four gun ship, and four frigates. The whole fleet was captured by the English admiral, who had scarcely adjusted the distribution of his prizes, when, on the 16th of January, off Cape St. Vincent, he came in sight of a Spanish squadron of eleven ships of the line, commanded by Don Juan Langara. After a most gallant defence by the Spaniards, their admiral's ship of 80 guns, and three others of 70, fell into the hands of the English, and were carried to Gibraltar. After having relieved that fortress, the English admiral sailed about the middle of February with a part of the fleet to the West Indies, leaving the Spanish prizes, with a squadron, under the care of rear-admiral Digby, who in his way home captured a French man of war of 64 guns.

The successful defence of Savannah, together with the subsequent departure of count D'Estaing from the coast of the United States, soon dissipated all apprehensions previously entertained for the safety of New-York. These circumstances pointed out to sir Henry Clinton the propriety of renewing offensive operations. Having effected nothing of importance for the two preceding campaigns, he turned his attention southward, and regaled himself with flattering prospects of easy conquest among the weaker states. The suitableness of the climate for winter operations, the richness of the country, and its distance from support, designated South-Carolina as a proper object of enterprise. No sooner, therefore, was the departure of the French fleet known and con-

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firmed, than sir Henry Clinton committed the command of the royal army in New-York to lieutenant-general Knipphausen, and embarked for the southward, with four flank battalions, 12 regiments, and a corps of British, Hessian, and provincials, a powerful detachment of artillery, 250 cavalry, together with an ample supply of military stores and provisions. Vice-admiral Arbuthnot, with a suitable naval force, undertook to convoy the troops to the place of their destination. On the 26th of December 1779, the whole sailed from New-York. After a tedious and dangerous passage, in which part of their ordnance, most of their artillery, and all their cavalry horses were lost, the fleet, on the 21st of January 1780, arrived at Tybee in Georgia. In a few days the transports with the army on board, sailed from Savannah for North Edisto, and after a short passage, the troops made good their landing about 30 miles from Charlestown, and on the 11th of February took possession of John's Island and Stono Ferry, and soon after of James Island and Wappoo Cut.—A bridge was thrown over the canal, and part of the royal army took post on the banks of Ashley River, opposite to Charlestown.

The assembly of the state was sitting when the British landed, but broke up after “delegating to governor Rutledge, and such of his council as he could conveniently consult, a power to do every thing necessary for the public good, except the taking away the life of a citizen without a legal trial.” The governor immediately ordered the militia to rendezvous. Though the necessity was great, few obeyed the pressing call. A proclamation was issued by the governor, under his extraordinary powers, requiring such of the militia as were regularly draughted, and all the inhabitants and owners of property in the town, to repair to the American standard and join the garrison immediately, under pain of confiscation. This severe though necessary measure produced very little effect; so much was the country dispirited by the late repulse at Savannah.

The tedious passage from New-York to Tybee gave the Americans time to fortify Charlestown. This, together with

with the losses which the royal army had sustained in the late tempestuous weather, induced sir Henry Clinton to despatch an order to New-York for reinforcements of men and stores. He also directed major-general Prevost to send on to him twelve hundred men from the garrison of Savannah. Brigadier-general Patterson, at the head of this detachment, made his way good over the river Savannah, and through the intermediate country, and soon after joined sir Henry Clinton near the banks of Ashley River. The royal forces without delay proceeded to the siege. At Wappoo on James Island, they formed a depot, and erected fortifications both on that island and on the main, opposite to the southern and western extremities of Charlestown. An advanced party crossed Ashley River, and soon after broke ground at the distance of 1100 yards from the American works. At successive periods, they erected five batteries on Charlestown Neck. The garrison was equally assiduous in preparing for its defence. The works which had been previously thrown up were strengthened and extended. Lines and redoubts were continued across from Cooper to Ashley River. In front of the whole was a strong abbatis, and a wet ditch made by passing a canal from the heads of swamps which run in opposite directions. Between the abbatis and the lines, deep holes were dug at short intervals. The lines were made particularly strong on the right and left, and so constructed as to rake the wet ditch in almost its whole extent. To secure the centre, a hornwork had been erected, which being closed during the siege formed a kind of citadel. Works were also thrown up on all sides of the town, where a landing was practicable. Though the lines were no more than field works, yet sir Henry Clinton treated them with the respectful homage of three parallels. From the 3d to the 10th of April, the first parallel was completed, and immediately after the town was summoned to surrender. On the 12th, the batteries were opened, and from that day an almost incessant fire was kept up. About the time the batteries were opened a work was thrown up near Wando River, nine miles from town, and another at

at Lempriere's Point, to preserve the communication with the country by water. A post was also ordered at a ferry over the Santee, to favour the coming in of reinforcements, or the retreat of the garrison when necessary. On the 21st of March, the British marine force, consisting of one ship of fifty guns, two of forty-four guns, four of thirty-two, and the Sandwich armed ship, crossed the bar in front of Rebellion Road, and anchored in Five Fathom Hole. The American force opposed to this was the Bricole, which, though pierced for forty-four guns, did not mount half of that number, two of thirty-two guns, one of twenty-eight, two of twenty-six, two of twenty, and the brig Notre Dame of sixteen guns. The first object of its commander, commodore Whipple, was to prevent admiral Arbuthnot from crossing the bar, but on farther examination this was found to be impracticable. He therefore fell back to Fort Moultrie, and afterwards to Charlestown. The crew and guns of all his vessels, except one, were put on shore to reinforce the batteries.

On the 9th of April admiral Arbuthnot weighed anchor at Five Fathom Hole, and with the advantage of a strong southerly wind, and flowing tide, passed Fort Moultrie without stopping to engage it, and anchored near the remains of Fort Johnson. Colonel Pinckney, who commanded on Sullivan's Island, kept up a brisk and well-directed fire on the ships in their passage, which did as great execution as could be expected. To prevent the royal armed vessels from running into Cooper River, eleven vessels were sunk in the channel opposite to the Exchange. The batteries of the besiegers soon obtained a superiority over those of the town. The former had twenty-one mortars and royals, the latter only two. The regular force in the garrison was much inferior to that of the besiegers, and but few of the militia could be persuaded to leave their plantations, and reinforce their brethren in the capital. A camp was formed at Monk's Corner, to keep up the communication between the town and country, and the militia without the lines were requested to rendezvous there; but this was surprised and routed by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. The
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British having now less to fear, extended themselves to the eastward of Cooper River. Two hundred and fifty horse, and 600 infantry, were detached on this service; but nevertheless, in the opinion of a council of war*, the weak state of the garrison made it improper to detach a number sufficient to attack that small force. About this time † sir Henry Clinton received a reinforcement of 3000 men from New-York. A second council of war held four days after the first, agreed that "a retreat would be attended with many distressing inconveniencies, if not altogether impracticable," and advised, "that offers of capitulation before their affairs became more critical should be made to general Clinton, which might admit of the army's withdrawing, and afford security to the persons and property of the inhabitants." These terms being proposed, were instantly rejected, but the garrison adhered to them, in hopes that succours would arrive from the neighbouring states. The bare offer of capitulating dispirited the garrison, but they continued to resist in expectation of favourable events. The British speedily completed the investiture of the town by land and water. After admiral Arbuthnot had passed Sullivan's Island, colonel Pinckney, with 150 of the men under his command, were withdrawn from that post to Charlestown. Soon after ‡ the fort on the island was surrendered without opposition to captain Hudson of the royal navy. On the same day, the remains of the American cavalry which escaped from the surprise at Monk's Corner, on the 14th of April, were again surprised by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton at Laneau's Ferry on Santee, and the whole either killed, captured, or dispersed. While every thing prospered with the British, sir Henry Clinton began a correspondence with general Lincoln, and renewed his former offers to the garrison in case of their surrender. Lincoln was disposed to close with them, as far as they respected his army; but some demur was made with a view of gaining better terms for the citizens, which it was hoped might

* April 16.

† April 18.

‡ May 6.

be obtained on a conference. This was asked : But Clinton, instead of granting it, answered, “ that hostilities should recommence at eight o’clock.” Nevertheless, neither party fired till nine. The garrison then recommenced hostilities. The besiegers immediately followed, and each cannonaded the other with unusual briskness. The British batteries of the third parallel opened on this occasion. Shells and carcasses were thrown into almost all parts of the town, and several houses were burned. The cannon and mortars played on the garrison at a less distance than a hundred yards. The Hessian chasseurs were so near the American lines, that with their rifles they could easily strike any object that was visible on them. The British having crossed the wet ditch by sap, advanced within 25 yards of the American works, and were ready for making a general assault by land and water. All expectation of succour was at an end : The only hope left was that 9000 men, the flower of the British army, seconded by a naval force, might fail in storming extensive lines defended by less than 3000 men. Under these circumstances, the siege was protracted till the 11th. On that day a great number of the citizens addressed general Lincoln in a petition, expressing their acquiescence in the terms which sir Henry Clinton had offered, and requesting his acceptance of them. On the reception of this petition, general Lincoln wrote to sir Henry, and offered to accept the terms before proposed. The royal commanders, wishing to avoid the extremity of a storm, and unwilling to press to unconditional submission an enemy, whose friendship they wished to conciliate, returned a favourable answer. A capitulation was signed, and major-general Leslie took possession of the town on the next day. The loss on both sides during the siege was nearly equal. Of the king’s troops, 76 were killed, and 189 wounded. Of the Americans, 89 were killed, and 140 wounded. Upwards of 400 pieces of artillery were surrendered. By the articles of capitulation, the garrison was to march out of town, and to deposit their arms in front of the works, but the drums were not to beat a British march, nor the colours to be uncased. The

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continental troops and seamen were to keep their baggage, and remain prisoners of war till exchanged. The militia were to be permitted to return to their respective homes as prisoners on parole, and while they adhered to their parole, were not to be molested by the British troops in person or property. The inhabitants of all conditions to be considered as prisoners on parole, and to hold their property on the same terms with the militia. The officers of the army and navy to retain their servants, swords, pistols, and baggage, unsearched. They were permitted to sell their horses, but not to remove them. A vessel was allowed to proceed to Philadelphia with general Lincoln's dispatches unopened.

The number which surrendered prisoners of war, inclusive of the militia and every adult male inhabitant, was above 5000; but the proper garrison at the time of the surrender did not exceed 2500. The precise number of privates in the continental army was 1977, of which number 500 were in the hospitals. The captive officers were much more in proportion than the privates, and consisted of 1 major-general, 6 brigadiers, 9 colonels, 14 lieutenant-colonels, 15 majors, 84 captains, 84 lieutenants, 32 second lieutenants and ensigns. The gentlemen of the country, who were mostly militia officers, from a sense of honour repaired to the defence of Charlestown, though they could not bring with them privates equal to their respective commands. The regular regiments were fully officered, though greatly deficient in privates.

This was the first instance in which the Americans had attempted to defend a town. The unsuccessful event, with its consequences, demonstrated the policy of sacrificing the towns of the union, in preference to endangering the whole, by risking too much for their defence.

Shortly after the surrender, the commander in chief adopted measures to induce the inhabitants to return to their allegiance. It was stated to them in an hand-bill, which, though without a name, seemed to flow from authority, "That the helping hand of every man was wanting to re-establish peace and good government: That the commander in chief wished not to draw them into danger, while any doubt could remain of his success; but

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as that was now certain, he trusted that one and all would heartily join, and give effect to necessary measures for that purpose." Those who had families were informed, "That they would be permitted to remain at home, and form a militia for the maintenance of peace and good order; but from those who had no families it was expected that they would cheerfully assist in driving their oppressors, and all the miseries of war, from their borders." To such it was promised, "That when on service, they would be allowed pay, ammunition, and provisions, in the same manner as the king's troops." About the same time *, sir Henry Clinton, in a proclamation, declared, "That if any person should thenceforward appear in arms in order to prevent the establishment of his majesty's government in that country, or should, under any pretence or authority whatever, attempt to compel any other person or persons so to do, or who should hinder the king's faithful subjects from joining his forces, or from performing those duties their allegiance required, such persons should be treated with the utmost severity, and their estates be immediately seized for confiscation." In a few days after †, sir Henry Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot, in the character of commissioners for restoring peace, offered to the inhabitants, with some exceptions, "pardon for their past treasonable offences, and a reinstatement in the possession of all those rights and immunities which they heretofore had enjoyed under a free British government, exempt from taxation, except by their own legislatures."

The capital having surrendered, the next object with the British was to secure the general submission of the whole body of the people.

To this end, they posted garrisons in different parts of the country to awe the inhabitants. They also marched with upwards of 2000 men towards North-Carolina. This caused an immediate retreat of some parties of Americans, who had advanced into the northern extremity of South-Carolina, with the expectation of relieving Charlestown. One of these, consisting of about 300 con-

* May 22.

† June 1.

tinentials commanded by colonel Buford, was overtaken at Wachaws by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, and completely defeated. Five out of six of the whole were either killed, or so badly wounded, as to be incapable of being moved from the field of battle; and this took place though they made such ineffectual opposition as only to kill 12 and wound 5 of the British. This great disproportion of the killed, on the two sides, arose from the circumstance that Tarleton's party refused quarter to the Americans after they had ceased to resist and laid down their arms.

Sir Henry Clinton having left about 4000 men for the southern service, embarked early in June with the main army for New-York. On his departure the command devolved on lieutenant-general earl Cornwallis. The season of the year, the condition of the army, and the unsettled state of South-Carolina, impeded the immediate invasion of North-Carolina. Earl Cornwallis despatched instructions to the principal loyalists in that state to attend to the harvest, prepare provisions, and remain quiet till the latter end of August or beginning of September. His lordship committed the care of the frontier to lord Rawdon, and repairing to Charlestown, devoted his principal attention to the commercial and civil regulations of South-Carolina. In the mean time, the impossibility of fleeing with their families and effects, and the want of an army to which the militia of the states might repair, induced the people in the country to abandon all schemes of farther resistance. At Beaufort, Camden, and Ninety-six, they generally laid down their arms, and submitted either as prisoners or as subjects. Excepting the extremities of the state bordering on North-Carolina, the inhabitants who did not flee out of the country preferred submission to resistance. This was followed by an unusual calm, and the British believed that the state was thoroughly conquered. An opportunity was now given to make an experiment from which much was expected, and for the omission of which, sir Henry Clinton's predecessor, sir William Howe, had been severely censured. It had been confidently asserted, that a majority of the Americans were well affected to the British government,

ment, and that, under proper regulations, substantial service might be expected from them, in restoring the country to peace. At this crisis every bias in favour of congress was removed. Their armies in the southern states were either captured or defeated. There was no regular force to the southward of Pennsylvania, which was sufficient to awe the friends of royal government. Every encouragement was held forth to those of the inhabitants who would with arms support the old constitution. Confiscation and death were threatened as the consequence of opposing its re-establishment. While there was no regular army within 400 miles to aid the friends of independence, the British were in force posted over all the country. The people were thus left to themselves, or rather strongly impelled to abandon an apparently sinking cause, and arrange themselves on the side of the conquerors. Under these favourable circumstances, the experiment was made, for supporting the British interest by the exertion of loyal inhabitants, unawed by American armies or republican demagogues. It soon appeared that the disguise which fear had imposed, subsisted no longer than the present danger, and that the minds of the people, though overawed, were actuated by an hostile spirit. In prosecuting the scheme for obtaining a military aid from the inhabitants, that tranquillity which previous successes had procured was disturbed, and that ascendancy which arms had gained was interrupted. The inducement to submission with many, was a hope of obtaining a respite from the calamities of war, under the shelter of British protection. Such were not less astonished than confounded, on finding themselves virtually called upon to take arms in support of royal government. This was done in the following manner: After the inhabitants, by the specious promises of protection and security, had generally submitted as subjects, or taken their parole as prisoners of war, a proclamation was issued by sir Henry Clinton, which set forth, "That it was proper for all persons to take an active part in settling and securing his majesty's government"—And in which it was declared, "That all the inhabitants of the province

vince who were then prisoners on parole (those who were taken in Fort Moultrie and Charlestown, and such as were in actual confinement excepted) should, from and after the 20th of June, be freed from their paroles, and restored to all the rights and duties belonging to citizens and inhabitants." And it was in the same proclamation farther declared, that all persons under the description above mentioned, who should afterwards neglect to return to their allegiance, and to his majesty's government, should be considered as enemies and rebels to the same, and treated accordingly." It was designed by this arbitrary change of the political condition of the inhabitants, from prisoners to citizens, to bring them into a dilemma which would force them to take an active part in settling and securing the royal government. It involved a majority in the necessity of either fleeing out of the country, or of becoming a British militia. With this proclamation the declension of British authority commenced; for though the inhabitants, from motives of fear or convenience, had generally submitted, the greatest part of them retained an affection for their American brethren, and shuddered at the thought of taking arms against them. Among such it was said, "If we must fight, let it be on the side of America, our friends and countrymen." A great number considering this proclamation as a discharge from their paroles, armed themselves in self-defence, being induced to this step by the royal menaces, that they who did not return to their allegiance as British subjects, must expect to be treated as rebels.

A party always attached to royal government, though they had conformed to the laws of the state, rejoiced in the ascendancy of the royal arms; but their number was inconsiderable, in comparison with the multitude who were obliged by necessity, or induced by convenience, to accept of British protection.

The precautions taken to prevent the rising of the royalists in North-Carolina, did not answer the end. Several of the inhabitants of Tryon county, under the direction of colonel Moore, took up arms, and were in a few days

defeated by the whig militia, commanded by general Rutherford. Colonel Bryan, another loyalist, though equally injudicious as to time, was successful; he reached the 71st regiment stationed in the Cheraws with about 800 men, assembled from the neighbourhood of the river Yadkin.

While the conquerors were endeavouring to strengthen the party for royal government, the Americans were not inattentive to their interests. Governor Rutledge, who, during the siege of Charlestown, had been requested by general Lincoln to go out of town, was industriously and successfully negotiating with North-Carolina, Virginia, and congress, to obtain a force for checking the progress of the British arms. Representations to the same effect had also been made in due time by general Lincoln. Congress ordered a considerable detachment from their main army to be marched to the southward. North-Carolina also ordered a large body of militia to take the field. As the British advanced to the upper country of South-Carolina, a considerable number of determined whigs retreated before them, and took refuge in North-Carolina. In this class was colonel Sumter, a distinguished partisan, who was well qualified for conducting military operations. A party of exiles from South-Carolina made choice of him for their leader. At the head of this little band of freemen, he returned to his own state, and took the field against the victorious British, after the inhabitants had generally abandoned all ideas of farther resistance. This unexpected impediment to the extension of British conquests, roused all the passions which disappointed ambition can inspire. Previous successes had flattered the royal commanders with hopes of distinguished rank among the conquerors of America, but the renewal of hostilities obscured the pleasing prospect. Flushed with the victories they had gained in the first of the campaign, and believing every thing told them favourable to their wishes to be true, they conceived that they had little to fear on the south side of Virginia. When experience refuted these hopes, they were transported with indignation against
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the inhabitants, and confined several of them on suspicion of their being accessory to the recommencement of hostilities.

The first effort of renewed warfare was on the 12th of July, two months after the fall of Charlestown, when 133 of colonel Sumter's corps attacked and routed a detachment of the royal forces and militia, which were posted in a lane at Williamson's plantation. This was the first advantage gained over the British, since their landing in the beginning of the year. The steady persevering friends of America, who were very numerous in the north-western frontier of South-Carolina, turned out with great alacrity to join colonel Sumter, though opposition to the British government had entirely ceased in every other part of the state. His corps in a few days amounted to 600 men. With this increase of strength, he made a spirited attack on a party of the British at Rocky Mount; but as he had no artillery, and they were secured under cover of earth filled in between logs, he could make no impression upon them, and was obliged to retreat. Sensible that the minds of men are influenced by enterprise, and that to keep militia together, it is necessary to employ them, this active partisan attacked another of the royal detachments, consisting of the Prince of Wales's regiment, and a large body of tories, posted at the Hanging Rock. The Prince of Wales's regiment was almost totally destroyed. From 278 it was reduced to 9. The loyalists, who were of that party which had advanced from North-Carolina under colonel Bryan, were dispersed. The panic occasioned by the fall of Charlestown daily abated. The whig militia on the extremities of the state formed themselves into parties, under leaders of their own choice, and sometimes attacked detachments of the British army, but more frequently those of their own countrymen, who, as a royal militia, were co-operating with the king's forces. While Sumter kept up the spirits of the people by a succession of gallant enterprises, a respectable continental force was advancing through the middle states, for the relief of their southern brethren. With the hopes of relieving Charlestown, on the 26th of March orders were given for the Maryland

ryland and Delaware troops to march from general Washington's head quarters to South-Carolina; but the quarter-master-general was unable to put this detachment in motion as soon as was intended.

The manufacturers employed in providing for the army would neither go on with their business, nor deliver the articles they had completed, declaring they had suffered so much from the depreciation of the money, that they would not part with their property without immediate payment. Under these embarrassing circumstances, the southern states required an aid from the northern army, to be marched through the intermediate space of 800 miles. The Maryland and Delaware troops were with great exertions at length enabled to move. After marching through Jersey and Pennsylvania, they embarked at the head of Elk, and on the 16th of April landed at Petersburg, and hence proceeded through the country towards South-Carolina. This force was at first put under the command of major-general baron de Kalb, and afterwards of general Gates. The success of the latter in the northern campaigns of 1776 and 1777, induced many to believe that his presence as commander of the southern army, would reanimate the friends of independence. While baron de Kalb commanded, a council of war had advised him to file off from the direct road to Camden, towards the well-cultivated settlements in the vicinity of the Waxhaws: But general Gates, on taking the command, did not conceive this movement to be necessary, supposing it to be most for the interest of the States that he should proceed immediately with his army on the shortest road to the vicinity of the British encampments. This led through a barren country, in passing over which, the Americans severely felt the scarcity of provisions. Their murmurs became audible, and there were strong appearances of mutiny; but the officers, who shared every calamity in common with the privates, interposed, and conciliated them to a patient sufferance of their hard lot. They principally subsisted on lean cattle, picked up in the woods. The whole army was under the necessity of using green corn, and peaches, in the place of bread; they sub-

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sisted indeed for several days on the latter alone. Dysenteries became common in consequence of this diet. The heat of the season, the unhealthiness of the climate, together with insufficient and unwholesome food, threatened destruction to the army. The common soldiers, instead of desponding, began after some time to be merry with their misfortunes. They used "starvation" as a cant word, and vied with each other in burlesquing their situation: And the wit and humour displayed on the occasion contributed not a little to reconcile them to their sufferings. The American army having made its way through a country of pine-barrens, sand hills, and swamps, on the 13th of August reached Clermont, 13 miles from Camden. The next day general Stephens arrived with a large body of Virginia militia.

As the American army approached South-Carolina, lord Rawdon concentrated his force at Camden. The retreat of the British from their out-posts, the advances of the American army, and the impolitic conduct of the conquerors towards their new subjects, concurred at this juncture to produce a general revolt in favour of congress. The people were daily more dissatisfied with their situation. Tired of war, they had submitted to British government with the expectation of bettering their condition; but they soon found their mistake. The greatest address should have been practised towards the inhabitants, in order to second the views of the parent state in reuniting the revolted colonies to her government. That the people might be induced to return to the condition of subjects, their minds and affections, as well as their armies, ought to have been conquered. This delicate task was rarely attempted. The officers, privates, and followers of the royal army, were generally more intent on amassing fortunes by plunder and rapine, than on promoting a reunion of the disaffected members of the empire. Instead of increasing the number of real friends to royal government, they disgusted those that they found. The high-spirited citizens of Carolina, impatient of their rapine and insolence, rejoiced in the prospect of freeing their country from its oppressors. Motives of this kind, together with
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a prevailing attachment to the cause of independence, induced many to break through all ties to join general Gates, and more to wish him the completest success.

The similarity of language and appearance between the British and American armies, gave opportunities for imposing on the inhabitants. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton with a party, by assuming the name and dress of Americans, passed themselves near Black River for the advance of general Gates's army. Some of the neighbouring militia were eagerly collected by Mr. Bradley to co-operate with their supposed friends; but after some time the veil being thrown aside, Bradley and his volunteers were carried to Camden, and confined there as prisoners.

General Gates, on reaching the frontier of South-Carolina, issued a proclamation, inviting the patriotic citizens "to join heartily in rescuing themselves and their country, from the oppression of a government imposed on them by the ruffian hand of conquest." He also gave "assurances of forgiveness and perfect security to such of the unfortunate citizens as had been induced by the terror of sanguinary punishment, the menace of confiscation, and the arbitrary measures of military domination, apparently to acquiesce under the British government, and to make a forced declaration of allegiance and support to a tyranny which the indignant souls of citizens resolved on freedom, inwardly revolted at with horror and detestation," excepting only from this amnesty, "those who in the hour of devastation had exercised acts of barbarity and depredation on the persons and property of their fellow-citizens." The army with which Gates advanced, was, by the arrival of Stephens's militia, increased nearly to 4000 men; but of this large number, the whole regular force was only 900 infantry, and 70 cavalry. On the approach of Gates, lord Cornwallis hastened from Charlestown to Camden, and arrived there on the 14th. The force which his lordship found collected on his arrival, was 1700 infantry and 300 cavalry. This inferior number would have justified a retreat, but he chose rather to stake his fortune on the decision of a battle. On the night of the 15th, he marched from Camden with his whole force,

force, intending to attack the Americans in their camp at Clermont. In the same night Gates, after ordering his baggage to the Waxhaws, put his army in motion, with an intention of advancing to an eligible position, about eight miles from Camden. The American army was ordered to march at ten o'clock P. M. in the following order: Colonel Armand's advance cavalry; colonel Porterfield's light infantry on the right flank of colonel Armand's in Indian file, 200 yards from the road. Major Armstrong's light-infantry in the same order as colonel Porterfield's on the left flank of the legion advanced guard of foot, composed of the advanced piquets, first brigade of Maryland, second brigade of Maryland, a division of North-Carolina, Virginia rear-guard, volunteer cavalry, upon flanks of the baggage equally divided. The light-infantry upon each flank were ordered to march up and support the cavalry, if it should be attacked by the British cavalry, and colonel Armand was directed in that case to stand the attack at all events.

The advance of both armies met in the night and engaged. Some of the cavalry of Armand's legion being wounded in the first fire, fell back on others, who recoiled so suddenly, that the first Maryland regiment was broken, and the whole line of the army was thrown into confusion. This first impression struck deep, and dispirited the militia. The American army soon recovered its order, and both they and their adversaries kept their ground, and occasionally skirmished through the night. Colonel Porterfield, a most excellent officer, on whose abilities general Gates particularly depended, was wounded in the early part of this night attack. In the morning a severe and general engagement took place. At the first onset, the great body of the Virginia militia, who formed the left wing of the American army, on being charged with fixed bayonets by the British infantry, threw down their arms, and with the utmost precipitation fled from the field. A considerable part of the North-Carolina militia followed the unworthy example; but the continentals who formed the right wing of the army, inferior as they were in numbers to the British, stood their ground and maintained the conflict

conflict with great resolution. Never did men acquit themselves better: For some time they had clearly the advantage of their opponents, and were in possession of a considerable body of prisoners: Overpowered at last by numbers, and nearly surrounded by the enemy, they were compelled reluctantly to leave the ground. In justice to the North-Carolina militia, it should be remarked that part of the brigade commanded by general Gregory acquitted themselves well. They were formed immediately on the left of the continentals, and kept the field while they had a cartridge to fire. General Gregory himself was twice wounded by a bayonet in bringing off his men, and several of his brigade, who were made prisoners, had no wounds except from bayonets*. Two hundred and ninety American wounded prisoners were carried into Camden after this action; of this number 206 were continentals, 82 were North-Carolina militia, and 2 were Virginia militia. The resistance made by each corps may in some degree be estimated from the number of wounded. The Americans lost the whole of their artillery, eight field-pieces, upwards of 200 waggons, and the greatest part of their baggage; almost all their officers were separated from their respective commands. Every corps was broken in action and dispersed. The fugitives, who fled by the common road, were pursued above 20 miles by the horse of Tarleton's legion, and the way was covered with arms, baggage, and waggons. Baron de Kalb, the second in command, a brave and experienced officer, was taken prisoner, and died on the next day of his wounds. The baron, who was a German by birth, had long been in the French service; he had travelled through the British provinces, about the time of the stamp-act, and is said to have reported to his superiors on his return, "that the colonists were so firmly and universally attached to Great Britain, that nothing could shake their loyalty." The congress resolved that a monument should be erected to

* This detail was furnished by Mr. Williamson, surgeon-general of the North-Carolina militia, who after the battle went into Camden with a flag.

his memory in Annapolis, with a very honourable inscription. General Rutherford, of North-Carolina, was wounded and taken prisoner.

The royal army fought with great bravery, but their victory was in a great degree owing to their superiority in cavalry, and the precipitate flight of the American militia. Their whole loss is supposed to have amounted to several hundreds. To add to the distresses of the Americans, the defeat of Gates was immediately followed by the surprise and dispersion of Sumter's corps. While the former was advancing near to the British army, the latter, who had previously taken post between Camden and Charlestown, took a number of prisoners, and captured sundry British stores, together with their convoy. On hearing of the defeat of his superior officer, he began to retreat with his prisoners and stores. Tarleton with his legion, and a detachment of infantry, pursued with such celerity and address as to overtake and surprise this party at Fishing Creek. The British rode into their camp before they were prepared for defence. The retreating Americans, having been four days with little or no sleep, were more obedient to the calls of nature, than attentive to her first law, self-preservation. Sumter had taken every prudent precaution to prevent a surprise, but his videttes were so overcome with fatigue, that they neglected their duty. With great difficulty he got a few to stand their ground for a short time, but the greater part of his corps fled to the river or the woods. He lost all his artillery, and his whole detachment was either killed, captured, or dispersed. The prisoners he had lately made were all retaken. On the 17th and 18th of August, about 150 of Gates's army rendezvoused at Charlotte. These had reason to apprehend that they would be immediately pursued and cut to pieces. There was no magazine of provisions in the town, and it was without any kind of defence. It was therefore concluded to retreat to Salisbury. A circumstantial detail of this would be the picture of complicated wretchedness. There were more wounded men than could be conveniently carried off. The inhabitants hourly expecting the British

British to advance into their settlement, and generally intending to flee, could not attend to the accommodation of the suffering soldiers. Objects of distress occurred in every quarter. There were many who stood in need of kind assistance, but there were few who could give it to them. Several men were to be seen with but one arm, and some without any. Anxiety, pain, and dejection, poverty, hurry, and confusion, promiscuously marked the gloomy scene. Under these circumstances, the remains of that numerous army which had lately caused such terror to the friends of Great Britain, retreated to Salisbury, and soon after to Hillsborough. General Gates had previously retired to this last place, and was there, in concert with the government of North-Carolina, devising plans of defence, and for renewing military operations.

Though there was no army to oppose lord Cornwallis, yet the season and bad health of his army, restrained him from pursuing his conquests. By the complete dispersion of the continental forces, the country was in his power. The present moment of triumph seemed therefore the most favourable conjuncture for breaking the spirits of those who were attached to independence. To prevent their future co-operation with the armies of congress, a severer policy was henceforward adopted.

Unfortunately for the inhabitants, this was taken up on grounds which involved thousands in distress, and not a few in the loss of life. The British conceived themselves in possession of the rights of sovereignty over a conquered country, and that therefore the efforts of the citizens to assert their independence, exposed them to the penal consequences of treason and rebellion. Influenced by these opinions, and transported with indignation against the inhabitants, they violated the rights which are held sacred between independent hostile nations. Orders were given by lord Cornwallis, "that all the inhabitants of the province who had submitted, and who had taken part in this revolt, should be punished with the greatest rigour—that they should be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them or destroyed." He also ordered in the most positive manner, "that every militia-man, who had borne
arms

arms with the British, and afterwards joined the Americans, should be put to death." At Augusta, at Camden, and elsewhere, several of the inhabitants were hanged in consequence of these orders. The men who suffered had been compelled by the necessities of their families, and the prospect of saving their property, to make an involuntary submission to the royal conquerors. Experience soon taught them the inefficacy of these submissions. This in their opinion absolved them from the obligations of their engagements to support the royal cause, and left them at liberty to follow their inclinations. To treat men thus circumstanced, with the severity of punishment usually inflicted on deserters and traitors, might have a political tendency to discourage farther revolts; but the impartial world must regret that the unavoidable horrors of war should be aggravated by such deliberate effusions of human blood.

Notwithstanding the decisive superiority of the British armies in South-Carolina, several of the most respectable citizens, though in the power of their conquerors, resisted every temptation to resume the character of subjects. To enforce a general submission, orders were given by lord Cornwallis immediately after the victory, to send out of South-Carolina a number of its principal citizens. Lieutenant-governor Gadsen, most of the civil and militia officers, and some others, who had declined exchanging their paroles for the protection of British subjects, were taken up on the 27th of August, put on board a vessel in the harbour, and sent to St. Augustine. General Moultrie remonstrated against the confinement and removal of these gentlemen, as contrary to their rights derived from the capitulation of Charlestown. They at the same time chagelled their adversaries to prove any conduct of theirs which merited expulsion from their country and families. They received no farther satisfaction, than that the measure had been "adopted from motives of policy." To convince the inhabitants that the conquerors were seriously resolved to remove from the country all who refused to become subjects, an additional number of about thirty citizens of South-Carolina, who remained prisoners on parole, were

were sent off to the same place in less than three months. General Rutherford and colonel Iaacs, both of North-Carolina, who had lately been taken near Camden, were associated with them.

To compel the re-establishment of British government, lord Cornwallis, on the 16th of September, about four weeks after his victory, issued a proclamation for the sequestration of all estates belonging to the active friends of independence. By this he constituted "John Cruden, commissioner, with full power and authority, on the receipt of an order or warrant, to take into his possession the estates both real and personal (not included in the capitulation of Charlestown) of those in the service, or acting under the authority of the rebel congress; and also the estates, both real and personal, of those persons, who by an open avowal of rebellious principles, or by other notorious acts, manifested a wicked and desperate perseverance in opposing the re-establishment of his majesty's just and lawful authority;" and it was farther declared, "That any person or persons obstructing or impeding the said commissioner in the execution of his duty, by the concealment or removal of property or otherwise, should, on conviction, be punished as aiding and abetting rebellion."

An adherent to independence was now considered as one who courted exile, poverty, and ruin. Many yielded to the temptation, and became British subjects. The mischievous effects of slavery, in facilitating the conquest of the country, now became apparent. As the slaves had no interest at stake, the subjugation of the state was a matter of no consequence to them. Instead of aiding in its defence, they by a variety of means threw the weight of their little influence into the opposite scale.

Though numbers broke through all the ties which bound them to support the cause of America, illustrious sacrifices were made at the shrine of liberty. Several of the richest men in the state suffered their fortunes to remain in the power and possession of their conquerors, rather than stain their honour, by joining the enemies of their country. The patriotism of the ladies contributed much to this firmness; they crowded on board prison-ships,

ships, and other places of confinement, to solace their suffering countrymen. While the conquerors were regaling themselves at concerts and assemblies, they could obtain very few of the fair sex to associate with them; but no sooner was an American officer introduced as a prisoner, than his company was sought for, and his person treated with every possible mark of attention and respect. On other occasions the ladies in a great measure retired from the public eye, wept over the distresses of their country, and gave every proof of the warmest attachment to its suffering cause. Among the numbers who were banished from their families, and whose property was seized by the conquerors, many examples could be produced of females cheerfully parting with their sons, husbands, and brothers, exhorting them to fortitude and perseverance; and repeatedly entreating them never to suffer family attachments to interfere with the duty they owed to their country. When, in the progress of the war, they were also comprehended under a general sentence of banishment, with equal resolution they parted from their native country, and the many endearments of home, and followed their husbands into prison-ships and distant lands, where they were reduced to the necessity of receiving charity.

Animated by such examples, as well as by a high sense of honour and the love of their country, a great proportion of the gentlemen of South-Carolina deliberately adhered to their first resolution, of risking life and fortune in support of their liberties. Hitherto the royal forces in South-Carolina had been attended with almost uninterrupted success. Their standards overspread the country, penetrated into every quarter, and triumphed over all opposition.

The British ministry, by this flattering posture of affairs, were once more intoxicated with the hope of subjugating America. New plans were formed, and great expectations indulged, of speedily reuniting the disaffected members of the empire. It was now asserted with a confidence bordering on presumption, that such troops as fought at Camden, put under such a commander as

lord

lord Cornwallis, would soon extirpate rebellion, so effectually as to leave no vestige of it in America. The British ministry and army, by an impious confidence in their own wisdom and prowess, were duly prepared to give, in their approaching downfall, an useful lesson to the world.

The disaster of the army under general Gates overspread at first the face of American affairs with a dismal gloom; but the day of prosperity to the United States began from that moment to dawn. Their prospects brightened up, while those of their enemies were obscured by disgrace, broken by defeat, and at last covered with ruin. Elated with their victories, the conquerors grew more insolent and rapacious, while the real friends of independence became resolute and determined.

We have seen Sumter penetrating into South Carolina, and recommencing a military opposition to British government. Soon after that event, he was promoted by governor Rutledge, to the rank of brigadier-general. About the same time Marion was promoted to the same rank, and in the north-eastern extremities of the state, successfully prosecuted a similar plan. This valuable officer after the surrender of Charlestown retreated to North-Carolina. On the advance of general Gates, he obtained a command of sixteen men. With these he penetrated through the country, and took a position near the Santee. On the defeat of general Gates, he was compelled to abandon the state, but returned after an absence of a few days. For several weeks he had under his command only 70 men. At one time hardships and dangers reduced that number of 25; yet with this inconsiderable number, he secured himself in the midst of surrounding foes. Various schemes were tried to detach the inhabitants from co-operating with him. Major Wemys burned scores of houses on Pedee, Lynch's Creek, and Black River, belonging to such as were supposed to do duty with Marion, or to be subservient to his views. This had an effect different from what was intended. Revenge and despair co-operated with patriotism, to make these ruined men keep the field. Having no houses to
shelter

shelter them, the camps of their countrymen became their homes. For several months, Marion and his party were obliged to sleep in the open air, and to shelter themselves in the recesses of deep swamps. From these retreats they sallied out, whenever an opportunity of harassing the enemy, or of serving their country, presented itself.

Opposition to British government was not wholly confined to the parties commanded by Sumter and Marion. It was at no time altogether extinct in the extremities of the state. The disposition to revolt, which had been excited on the approach of general Gates, was not overcome by his defeat. The spirit of the people was overawed, but not subdued. The severity with which revolvers who fell into the hands of the British were treated, induced those who escaped to persevere and seek safety in swamps.

From the time of the general submission of the inhabitants in 1780, pains had been taken to increase the royal force by the co-operation of the yeomanry of the country. The British exhorted the people to form a royal militia, by representing that every prospect of succeeding in their scheme of independence was annihilated, and that a farther opposition would only be a prolongation of their distresses, if not their utter ruin. Major Ferguson of the 71st regiment was particularly active in this business. He visited the settlements of the disaffected to the American cause, and collected a corps of militia of that description, from which much active service was expected. He advanced to the north-western settlements, to hold communication with the loyalists of both Carolinas. From his presence, together with assurances of an early movement of the royal army into North-Carolina, it was hoped that the friends of royal government would be roused to activity in the service of their king. In the mean time every preparation was made for urging offensive operations, as soon as the season and the state of the stores would permit.

That spirit of enterprise, which has already been mentioned as beginning to revive among the American militia about this time, prompted colonel Clarke to make
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an attempt on the British post at Augusta in Georgia ; but in this he failed, and was obliged to retreat. Major Ferguson, with the hope of intercepting his party, kept near the mountains, and at a considerable distance from support. These circumstances, together with the depredations of the loyalists, induced those hardy republicans, who reside on the west side of the Allegany mountains, to form an enterprise for reducing that distinguished partisan. This was done of their own motion, without any direction from the governments of America, or from the officers of the continental army.

There was, without any apparent design, a powerful combination of several detached commanders of several adjacent states, with their respective commands of militia. Colonel Campbell, of Virginia ; colonels Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier, and M'Dowel, of North-Carolina ; together with colonels Lacey, Hawthorn, and Hill, of South-Carolina ; all rendezvoused together, with a number of men, amounting to 1600, though they were under no general command, and though they were not called upon to embody by any common authority, or indeed by any authority at all, but that of a general impulse on their own minds. They had so little of the mechanism of a regular army, that the colonels of some the states, by common consent, commanded each day alternately. The hardships these volunteers underwent were very great ; some of them subsisted for weeks together, without tasting bread or salt, or spirituous liquors, and slept in the woods without blankets. The running stream quenched their thirst ; at night the earth afforded them a bed, and the heavens, or at least the limbs of trees, were their only covering ; ears of corn, or pumpions thrown into the fire, with occasional supplies of beef or venison, killed and roasted in the woods, were the chief articles of their provision. They had neither commissaries, quarter-masters, nor stores of any kind. They selected about a thousand of their best men, and mounted them on their fleetest horses ; these, on the 7th of October, attacked major Ferguson on the top of King's Mountain, near the confines of North and South-Carolina. The Americans formed
three

three parties : Colonel Lacey, of South Carolina, led one, which attacked on the west end. The two others were commanded by colonels Campbell and Cleveland, one of which attacked on the east end, and the other in the centre. Ferguson with great boldness attacked the assailants with fixed bayonets, and compelled them successively to retire, but they only fell back a little way, and getting behind trees and rocks, renewed their fire in almost every direction. The British being uncovered, were aimed at by the American marksmen, and many of them were slain. An unusual number of the killed were found to have been shot in the head. Riflemen took off riflemen with such exactness, that they killed each other when taking sight, so effectually, that their eyes remained after they were dead one shut and the other open, in the usual manner of marksmen when levelling at their object. Major Ferguson displayed as much bravery as was possible in his situation; but his encampment on the top of the mountain was not well chosen, as it gave the Americans an opportunity of covering themselves in their approaches. Had he pursued his march on charging and driving the first party of the militia which gave way, he might have got off with most of his men; but his unconquerable spirit disdained either to flee or to surrender. After a severe conflict he received a mortal wound. No chance of escape being left, and all prospect of successful resistance being at an end, the contest was ended by the submission of the survivors. Upwards of 800 became prisoners, and 225 had been previously killed or wounded. Very few of the assailants fell, but in their number was colonel Williams, a distinguished militia officer in Ninety-six district, who had been very active in opposing the re-establishment of British government. Ten of the royal militia who had surrendered were hanged by their conquerors. They were provoked to this measure by the severity of the British, who had lately hanged several of the captured Americans in South Carolina and Georgia. They also alleged, that the men who suffered were guilty of previous felonies, for which their lives were forfeited by the laws of the land. The fall of Ferguson was in itself a great loss to

the royal cause. He possessed superior abilities as a partisan, and his spirit of enterprise was uncommon. To a distinguished capacity for planning great designs, he also added the practical abilities necessary to carry them into execution. The unexpected advantage which the Americans gained over him and his party, in a great degree frustrated a well-concerted scheme for strengthening the British army by the co-operation of the tory inhabitants, whom he had undertaken to discipline and prepare for active service. The total rout of the party which had joined major Ferguson, operated as a check on the future exertions of the loyalists. The same timid caution which made them averse to joining their countrymen in opposing the claims of Great Britain, restrained them from risking any more in support of the royal cause. Henceforward they waited to see how the scales were likely to incline, and reserved themselves till the British army, by its own unassisted efforts, should gain a decided superiority.

In a few weeks after the general action near Camden, lord Cornwallis left a small force in that village, and marched with the main army towards Salisbury, intending to push forwards in that direction. While on his way thither, the North-Carolina militia was very industrious and successful in annoying his detachments. Riflemen frequently penetrated near his camp, and from behind trees made sure of their objects. The late conquerors found their situation very uneasy, being exposed to unseen dangers if they attempted to make an excursion of only a few hundred yards from their main body. The defeat of major Ferguson, added to these circumstances, gave a serious alarm to lord Cornwallis, and he soon after retreated to Winnsborough. As he retired, the militia took several of his waggons, and single men often rode up within gunshot of his army, discharged their pieces, and made their escape. The panic occasioned by the defeat of general Gates had in a great measure worn off. The defeat of major Ferguson, and the consequent retreat of lord Cornwallis, encouraged the American militia to take the field, and the necessity of the times

times induced them to submit to stricter discipline.— Sumter, soon after the dispersion of his corps on the 18th of August, collected a band of volunteers, partly from new adventurers, and partly from those who had escaped on that day. With these, though for three months there was no continental army in the state, he constantly kept the field in support of American independence. He varied his position from time to time about Evoree, Broad, and Tyger Rivers, and had frequent skirmishes with his adversaries. Having mounted his followers, he infested the British parties with frequent excursions, beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys, and so harassed them with successive alarms, that their movements could not be made but with caution and difficulty. His spirit of enterprise was so particularly injurious to the British, that they laid many plans for destroying his force, but they all failed in the execution. On the 12th of November, he was attacked at Broad River by major Wemys, commanding a corps of infantry and dragoons. In this action the British were defeated, and their commanding officer taken prisoner. Eight days after he was attacked at Black Stocks, near Tyger River, by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. The attack was begun with 170 dragoons and 80 men of the 63d regiment. A considerable part of Sumter's force had been thrown into a large log barn, from the apertures of which they fired with security. Many of the 63d regiment were killed. Tarleton charged with his cavalry, but being unable to dislodge the Americans, retreated, and Sumter was left in quiet possession of the field. The loss of the British in this action was considerable. Among their killed were three officers, major Money, lieutenants Gibson and Cope. The Americans lost very few, but general Sumter received a wound, which for several months interrupted his gallant enterprises.

For the three months which followed the defeat of the American army near Camden, general Gates was industriously preparing to take the field. Having collected a force at Hillsbury he advanced to Salisbury, and very soon after to Charlotte. He had done every thing in his power

power to repair the injuries of his defeat, and was again in a condition to face the enemy ; but from that influence which popular opinion has over public affairs in a commonwealth, congress resolved to supersede him, and to order a court of inquiry to be held on his conduct.

While the war raged in South Carolina, the campaign of 1780, in the northern states, was barren of important events. At the close of the preceding campaign, the American northern army took post at Morristown and built themselves huts, agreeably to the practice which had been first introduced at Valley Forge. This position was well calculated to cover the country from the excursions of the British, being only 20 miles from New-York.

In the month of January, lord Sterling made an ineffectual attempt to surprize a party of the British on Staten Island. While he was on the island, a number of persons from the Jersey side passed over and plundered the inhabitants who had submitted to the British government. In these times of confusion, licentious persons fixed themselves near the lines, which divided the British from the Americans. Whenever an opportunity offered, they were in the habit of going within the settlements of the opposite party, and under pretence of distressing their enemies, committed the most shameful depredations. In the first months of the year 1780, while the royal army was weakened by the expedition against Charlestown, the British were apprehensive for their safety in New-York. The rare circumstance which then existed of a connexion between the main and York Island by means of ice, seemed to invite to the enterprize, but the force and equipments of the American army were unequal to it. Lieutenant-general Kniphausen, who then commanded in New York, apprehending such a design, embodied the inhabitants of the city as a militia for its defence. They very cheerfully formed themselves into companies, and discovered great zeal in the service.

An incursion was made into Jersey from New-York with 5000 men, commanded by lieutenant-general Kniphausen. On the 16th of June they landed at Elizabeth-Town, and proceeded to Connecticut farms. In this
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neighbourhood lived the Rev. Mr. James Caldwell, a presbyterian clergyman of great activity, ability, and influence, whose successful exertions in animating the Jersey militia to defend their rights, had rendered him particularly obnoxious to the British. When the royal forces were on their way into the country, a soldier came to his house in his absence, and shot his wife (Mrs. Caldwell) instantly dead, by levelling his piece directly at her through the window of the room in which she was sitting with her children. Her body, at the request of an officer of the new levies, was moved to some distance, and then the house and every thing in it was reduced to ashes. The British burnt about 12 other houses, and also the presbyterian church, and then proceeded to Springfield. As they advanced they were annoyed by colonel Dayton with a few militia. On their approach to the bridge near the town, they were opposed by general Maxwell, who with a few continental troops was prepared to dispute its passage. They made a halt, and soon after returned to Elizabeth Town. Before they had retreated, the whole American army at Morristown marched to oppose them.—While this royal detachment was in Jersey, sir Henry Clinton returned with his victorious troops from Charlestown to New-York. He ordered a reinforcement to Kniphausen, and the whole advanced a second time towards Springfield. They were now opposed by general Greene, with a considerable body of continental troops. Colonel Angel with his regiment and a piece of artillery was posted to secure the bridge in front of the town. A severe action took place, which lasted forty minutes. Superior numbers forced the Americans to retire. General Greene took post with his troops on a range of hills, in hopes of being attacked. Instead of this, the British began to burn the town. Near fifty dwelling-houses were reduced to ashes. The British then retreated, but were pursued by the enraged militia, till they entered Elizabeth-Town. The next day they set out on their return to New-York. The loss of the Americans in the action was about 80, and that of the British was supposed to be considerably more. It is difficult to tell what was the

precise object of this expedition. Perhaps the royal commanders hoped to get possession of Morristown, and to destroy the American stores. Perhaps they flattered themselves that the inhabitants were so dispirited by the recent loss of Charlestown, that they would submit without resistance; and that the soldiers of the continental army would desert to them: But if these were their views, they were disappointed in both. The firm opposition which was made by the Jersey farmers, contrasted with the conduct of the same people in the year 1776, made it evident that not only their aversion to Great Britain continued in full force, but that the practical habits of service and danger had improved the country militia, so as to bring them near to an equality with regular troops.

By such desultory operations were hostilities carried on at this time in the northern states. Individuals were killed, houses were burnt, and much mischief done; but nothing was effected which tended either to reconciliation or subjugation.

The loyal Americans who had fled within the British lines, commonly called refugees, reduced a predatory war into system. On their petition to sir Henry Clinton, they had been, in the year 1779, permitted to set up a distinct government in New-York, under a jurisdiction called the honourable board of associated loyalists. They had something like a fleet of small privateers and cruizers, by the aid of which they committed various depredations. A party of them who had formerly belonged to Massachusetts, went to Nantucket, broke open the warehouses, and carried off every thing that fell in their way. They also carried off two loaded brigs and two or three schooners. In a proclamation they left behind them they observed, "That they had been deprived of their property, and compelled to abandon their dwellings, friends, and connexions: And that they conceived themselves warranted by the laws of God and man, to wage war against their persecutors, and to endeavour by every means in their power to obtain compensation for their sufferings." These associated loyalists eagerly embraced every adventure which gratified either their avarice or their revenge.

venge. Their enterprises were highly lucrative to themselves, and extremely distressing to the Americans. Their knowledge of the country and superior means of transportation enabled them to make hasty descents and successful enterprises. A war of plunder, in which the feelings of humanity were often suspended, and which tended to no valuable public purpose, was carried on in this shameful manner, from the double excitements of profit and revenge. The adjoining coasts of the continent, and especially the maritime parts of New-Jersey, became scenes of waste and havoc.

The distress which the Americans suffered from the diminished value of their currency, though felt in the year 1778, and still more so in the year 1779, did not arrive to its highest pitch till the year 1780. Under the pressure of sufferings from this cause, the officers of the Jersey line addressed a memorial to their state legislature, setting forth, "That four months pay of a private would not procure for his family a single bushel of wheat; that the pay of a colonel would not purchase oats for his horse; that a common labourer or express rider received four times as much as an American officer."

A tide of misfortunes from all quarters was, indeed, at this time pouring in upon the new states. There appeared not, however, in their public bodies, the smallest disposition to purchase safety by concessions of any sort. They seemed to rise in the midst of their distresses, and to gain strength from the pressure of calamities. When congress could neither command money nor credit for the subsistence of their army, the citizens of Philadelphia formed an association to procure a supply of necessary articles for their suffering soldiers. The sum of 300,000 dollars was subscribed in a few days, and converted into a bank, the principal design of which was to purchase provisions for the troops in the most prompt and efficacious manner. The advantages of this institution were great, and particularly enhanced by the critical time in which it was instituted. The loss of Charlestown, and the subsequent British victories in Carolina, produced effects directly the reverse of what were expected. It be-
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ing the deliberate resolution of the Americans never to return to the government of Great Britain, such unfavourable events as threatened the subversion of independence operated as incentives to their exertions.

The powers of the committee of congress in the American camp were enlarged so far as to authorise them to frame and execute such plans as, in their opinion, would most effectually draw forth the resources of the country, in co-operating with the armament expected from France. In this character they wrote letters to the states, stimulating them to vigorous exertions. It was agreed to make arrangements for bringing into the field 35,000 effective men, and to call on the states for specific supplies of every thing necessary for their support. To obtain the men it was proposed to complete the regular regiments by draughts from the militia, and to make up what they fell short of 35,000 effectives, by calling forth more of the militia. Every motive concurred to rouse the activity of the inhabitants. The states, nearly exhausted with the war, ardently wished for its termination. An opportunity now offered for striking a decisive blow, that might at once, as they supposed, rid the country of its distresses. The only thing required on the part of the United States, was to bring into the field 35,000 men, and to make effectual arrangements for their support. The tardiness of deliberation in congress was in a great measure done away, by the full powers given to their committee in camp. Accurate estimates were made of every article of supply necessary for the ensuing campaign. These, and also the numbers of men wanted, were quoaded on the ten northern states in proportion to their abilities and numbers. In conformity to these requisitions, vigorous resolutions were adopted for carrying them into effect. Where voluntary enlistments fell short of the proposed number, the deficiencies were, by the laws of several states, to be made up by draughts or lots from the militia. The towns in New-England and the counties in the middle states were respectively called on for a specified number of men. Such was the zeal of the people in New-England, that neighbours would often club together, to engage one
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of their number to go into the army. Being without money, in conformity to the practice usual in the early stages of society, they paid for military duty with cattle. Twenty head were frequently given as a reward for eighteen months service. Maryland directed her lieutenants of counties to class all the property in their respective counties into as many equal classes as there were men wanted, and each class was by law obliged, within ten days thereafter, to furnish an able-bodied recruit to serve during the war, and in case of their neglecting or refusing so to do, the county lieutenants were authorised to procure men at their expense, at any rate not exceeding fifteen pounds in every hundred pounds worth of property, classed agreeably to the law. Virginia also classed her citizens, and called upon the respective classes for every fifteenth man for public service. Pennsylvania concentrated the requisite power in her president, Joseph Reed, and authorised him to draw forth the resources of the state, under certain limitations, and if necessary to declare martial law over the state. The legislative part of these complicated arrangements was speedily passed, but the execution, though uncommonly vigorous, lagged far behind. Few occasions could occur in which it might so fairly be tried, to what extent in conducting a war, a variety of wills might be brought to act in unison. The result of the experiment was, that however favourable republics may be to the liberty and happiness of the people in the time of peace, they will be greatly deficient in that vigour and despatch, which military operations require, unless they imitate the policy of monarchies, by committing the executive departments of government to the direction of a single will.

While these preparations were making in America, the armament which had been promised by his most christian majesty was on its way. As soon as it was known in France, that a resolution was adopted to send out troops to the United States, the young French nobility discovered the greatest zeal to be employed on that service. Court favour was scarcely ever solicited with more earnestness, than was the honour of serving under general Washington. The number of applicants was much greater than the ser-

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vice required. The disposition to support the American revolution was not only prevalent in the court of France, but it animated the whole body of the nation. The winds and waves did not second the ardent wishes of the French troops. Though they sailed from France on the 1st of May 1780, they did not reach a port in the United States till the 10th of July following. On that day, to the great joy of the Americans, M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode Island, with a squadron of seven sail of the line, five frigates, and five smaller armed vessels. He likewise conveyed a fleet of transports with four old French regiments, besides the legion de Lauzun, and a battalion of artillery, amounting in the whole to 6000 men, all under the command of lieutenant-general count de Rochambeau. To the French as soon as they landed possession was given of the forts and batteries on the island, and by their exertions they were soon put in a high state of defence. In a few days after their arrival, an address of congratulation from the general assembly of the state of Rhode Island, was presented to count de Rochambeau, in which they expressed "their most grateful sense of the magnanimous aid afforded to the United States, by their illustrious friend and ally the monarch of France, and also gave assurances of every exertion in their power for the supply of the French forces, with all manner of refreshments and necessaries for rendering the service happy and agreeable." Rochambeau declared in his answer, "that he only brought over the vanguard of a much greater force which was destined for their aid; that he was ordered by the king his master to assure them, that his whole power should be exerted for their support. The French troops," he said, "were under the strictest discipline, and acting under the orders of general Washington, would live with the Americans as brethren. He returned their compliments by an assurance, that as brethren, not his own life, but the lives of all those under his command, were devoted to their service."

General Washington recommended in public orders to the American officers, as a symbol of friendship and affection for their allies, to wear black and white cockades, the

the ground to be of the first colour, and the relief of the second.

The French troops, united both in interest and affection with the Americans, ardently longed for an opportunity to co-operate with them against the common enemy. The continental army wished for the same with equal ardour. One circumstance alone seemed unfavourable to this spirit of enterprise; this was the deficient clothing of the Americans; some whole lines, officers as well as men, were shabby, and a great proportion of the privates were without shirts. Such troops, brought by the side even of allies fully clad in the elegance of uniformity, must have been more or less than men to feel no degradation on the contrast.

Admiral Arbuthnot had only four sail of the line at New-York, when M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode Island. This inferiority was in three days reversed, by the arrival of admiral Graves with six sail of the line. The British admiral, having now a superiority, proceeded to Rhode Island. He soon discovered that the French were perfectly secure from any attack by sea. Sir Henry Clinton, who had returned in the preceding month with his victorious troops from Charlestown, embarked about 8000 of his best men, and proceeded as far as Huntingdon Bay, on Long Island, with the apparent design of concurring with the British fleet, in attacking the French force at Rhode Island. When this movement took place, general Washington set his army in motion, and proceeded to Peek's Kill. Had sir Henry Clinton prosecuted what appeared to be his design, general Washington intended to have attacked New-York in his absence. Preparations were made for this purpose, but sir Henry Clinton instantly turned about from Huntingdon Bay towards New-York.

The campaign of 1780 passed away in the northern states, as has been related, in successive disappointments and reiterated distresses to the American cause. The country was exhausted, the continental currency expiring. While these disasters were openly menacing the new states, treachery was silently undermining them. A distinguished officer engaged, for a stipulated sum of money, to betray into the hands of the British an important post

committed to his care. General Arnold, who committed this foul crime, was a native of Connecticut. That state, remarkable for the purity of its morals, for its republican principles and patriotism, was the birthplace of a man to whom none of the other states have produced an equal. He had been among the first to take up arms against Great Britain, and to widen the breach between the parent state and the colonies. His distinguished military talents had procured him every honour a grateful country could bestow. Poets and painters had marked him as a suitable subject for the display of their respective abilities. He possessed an elevated seat in the hearts of his countrymen, and was in the full enjoyment of a substantial fame, for the purchase of which the wealth of worlds would have been insufficient. His country had not only loaded him with honours, but forgiven him his crimes. Though in his accounts against the states there was much room to suspect fraud and imposition, yet the recollection of his gallantry and good conduct, in a great measure served as a cloak to cover the whole. He who had been prodigal of life in his country's cause, was indulged in extraordinary demands for its service. The generosity of the states did not keep pace with the extravagance of their favourite officer. A sumptuous table and expensive equipage, unsupported by the resources of private fortune, unguarded by the virtues of economy and good management, soon increased his debts beyond a possibility of his discharging them. His love of pleasure produced the love of money, and that extinguished all sensibility to the obligations of honour and duty. The calls of luxury were various and pressing, and demanded gratification, though at the expense of fame and country. Contracts were made, speculations entered into, and partnerships instituted, which could not bear investigation. Oppression, extortion, misapplication of public money and property, furnished him with the farther means of gratifying his favourite passions. In these circumstances, a change of sides afforded the only hope of evading a scrutiny, and at the same time held out a prospect of replenishing his exhausted coffers. The disposition of the American forces in the year 1780 afforded an opportunity of accomplishing this

so much to the advantage of the British, that they could well afford a liberal reward for the beneficial treachery. The American army was stationed in the strong-holds of the highlands on both sides of the North River. In this arrangement, Arnold solicited for the command of West Point. This has been called the Gibraltar of America. It was built after the loss of Fort Montgomery, for the defence of the North River, and was deemed the most proper for commanding its navigation. Rocky ridges rising one behind another, rendered it incapable of being invested by less than twenty thousand men. Though some even then entertained doubts of Arnold's fidelity, yet general Washington believing it to be impossible that honour should be wanting in a breast which he knew was the seat of valour, cheerfully granted his request, and entrusted him with the important post. General Arnold, thus invested with command, carried on a negotiation with sir Henry Clinton, by which it was agreed that the former should make a disposition of his forces, which would enable the latter to surprise West Point under such circumstances, that he would have the garrison so completely in his power, that the troops must either lay down their arms or be cut to pieces. The object of this negotiation was the strongest post of the Americans, the thoroughfare of communication between the eastern and southern states, and was the repository of their most valuable stores. The loss of it would have been severely felt.

The agent employed in this negotiation on the part of sir Henry Clinton, was major André, adjutant-general of the British army. To favour the necessary communications, the Vulture sloop of war had been previously stationed in the North River, as near to Arnold's posts as was practicable, without exciting suspicion. Before this a written correspondence between Arnold and André had been for some time carried on under the fictitious names of Gustavus and Anderson. In the night of the 21st of September, a boat was sent from the shore to fetch major André. On his return Arnold met him at the beach, without the posts of either army. Their business was not finished till it was too near the dawn of day for André to return to the Vulture.

Vulture. Arnold told him he must be concealed till the next night. For that purpose, he was conducted within one of the American posts, against his previous stipulation and knowledge, and continued with Arnold the following day. The boatmen refused to carry him back the next night, as the Vulture, from being exposed to the fire of some cannon brought up to annoy her, had changed her position. André's return to New-York by land, was then the only practicable mode of escape. To favour this he quitted his uniform which he had hitherto worn under a furtout, for a common coat, and was furnished with a horse, and under the name of John Anderson, with a passport "to go to the lines of White Plains, or lower if he thought proper, he being on public business." He advanced alone and undisturbed a great part of the way.—When he thought himself almost out of danger, he was stopt by three of the New-York militia, who were with others scouting between the out-posts of the two armies. Major André, instead of producing his pass, asked the man who stopt him "Where he belonged to," who answered, "To below," meaning New-York. He replied, "So do I," and declared himself a British officer, and pressed that he might not be detained. He soon discovered his mistake. His captors proceeded to search him: Several papers were found in his possession. These were secreted in his boots, and were in Arnold's hand-writing; they contained exact returns of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences at West Point, with the artillery orders, critical remarks on the works, &c.

André offered his captors a purse of gold and a new valuable watch, if they would let him pass, and permanent provision and future promotion, if they would convey and accompany him to New-York. They nobly disdained the proffered bribe, and delivered him a prisoner to lieutenant-colonel Jameson, who commanded the scouting parties. In testimony of the high sense entertained of the virtuous and patriotic conduct of John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Vert, the captors of André, congress resolved, "That each of them receive annually two hundred dollars in specie during



BARLOW, VOL. III. p. 226.
Major André, taken prisoner.

during life, and that the board of war be directed to procure for each of them a silver medal, on one side of which should be a shield with this inscription, *Fidelity*; and on the other the following motto, *Vincit Amor Patriæ*; and that the commander in chief be requested to present the same, with the thanks of congress, for their fidelity and the eminent service they had rendered their country." André, when delivered to Jameson, continued to call himself by the name of Anderson, and asked leave to send a letter to Arnold, to acquaint him with Anderson's detention. This was inconsiderately granted. Arnold on the receipt of this letter abandoned every thing, and went on board the Vulture sloop of war. Lieutenant-colonel Jameson forwarded to general Washington all the papers found on André, together with a letter giving an account of the whole affair; but the express, by taking a different route from the general, who was returning from a conference at Hartford with count de Rochambeau, missed him. This caused such a delay as gave Arnold time to effect his escape. The same packet which detailed the particulars of André's capture, brought a letter from him, in which he avowed his name and character, and endeavoured to show that he did not come under the description of a spy. He stated, that he held a correspondence with a person under the orders of his general: That his intention went no farther than meeting that person on neutral ground, for the purpose of intelligence; and that, against his stipulation, his intention, and without his knowledge beforehand, he was brought within the American posts, and had to concert his escape from them; being taken on his return, he was betrayed into the vile condition of an enemy in disguise.

General Washington referred the whole case of major André to the examination and decision of a board, consisting of fourteen general officers. On his examination, he voluntarily confessed every thing that related to himself, and particularly that he did not come ashore under the protection of a flag. The board did not examine a single witness, but founded their report on his own

own confession. In this they stated the following facts: "That major André came on shore on the night of the 21st of September, in a private and secret manner, and that he changed his dress within the American lines, and under a feigned name and disguised habit passed their works, and was taken in a disguised habit when on his way to New-York, and when taken, several papers were found in his possession, which contained intelligence for the enemy." From these facts they farther reported it as their opinion, "That major André ought to be considered as a spy, and agreeably to the laws and usages of nations, he ought to suffer death."

Sir Henry Clinton, lieutenant-general Robertson, and the late American general Arnold, wrote pressing letters to general Washington, to prevent the decision of the board of general officers from being carried into effect. General Arnold in particular urged, that every thing done by major André was done by his particular request, and at a time when he was the acknowledged commanding officer in the department. He contended, "that he had a right to transact all these matters for which, though wrong, major André ought not to suffer." An interview also took place between general Robertson, on the part of the British, and general Greene, on the part of the Americans. Every thing was urged by the former, that ingenuity or humanity could suggest for averting the proposed execution; Greene made a proposition for delivering up André for Arnold, but found this could not be acceded to by the British. Robertson urged, "that André went on shore under the sanction of a flag, and that being then in Arnold's power, he was not accountable for his subsequent actions, which were said to be compulsory." To this it was replied, that "he was employed in the execution of measures very foreign from the objects of flags of truce, and such as they were never meant to authorise or countenance; and that major André in the course of his examination had candidly confessed, that it was impossible for him to suppose that he came on shore under the sanction of a flag." As Greene and Robertson differed so widely both in their
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statement of facts, and the inferences they drew from them, the latter proposed to the former, that the opinions of disinterested gentlemen might be taken on the subject, and proposed Kniphausen and Rochambeau. Robertson also urged that André possessed a great share of sir Henry Clinton's esteem, and that he would be infinitely obliged if he should be spared. He offered that in case André was permitted to return with him to New-York, any person whatever that might be named, should be set at liberty. All these arguments and entreaties having failed, Robertson presented a long letter from Arnold, in which he endeavoured to exculpate André, by acknowledging himself the author of every part of his conduct, "and particularly insisted on his coming from the Vulture, under a flag which he had sent for that purpose." He declared, that if André suffered, he should think himself bound in honour to retaliate. He also observed, "that forty of the principal inhabitants of South-Carolina had justly forfeited their lives, which hitherto had been spared only through the clemency of sir Henry Clinton, but who could no longer extend his mercy if major André suffered; an event which would probably open a scene of bloodshed, at which humanity must revolt." He entreated Washington by his own honour, and for that of humanity, not to suffer an unjust sentence to touch the life of André; but if that warning should be disregarded, and André suffer, he called Heaven and earth to witness, that he alone would be justly answerable for the torrents of blood that might be spilt in consequence."

Every exertion was made by the royal commanders to save André, but without effect. It was the general opinion of the American army that his life was forfeited, and that national dignity and sound policy required that the forfeiture should be exacted.

The execution was the subject of severe censures. Barbarity, cruelty, and murder, were plentifully charged on the Americans; but the impartial of all nations allowed, that it was warranted by the usages of war. It cannot be condemned, without condemning the maxims of self-

preservation, which have uniformly guided the practice of hostile nations. The finer feelings of humanity might have been gratified, by dispensing with the rigid maxims of war; but these feelings must be controlled by a regard for the public safety. Such was the distressed state of the American army, and so abundant were their causes of complaint, that there was much to fear from the contagious nature of treachery. Could it have been reduced to a certainty that there were no more Arnolds in America, perhaps André's life might have been spared; but the necessity of discouraging farther plots, fixed his fate, and stamped it with the seal of political necessity. If conjectures in the boundless field of possible contingencies were to be indulged, it might be said that it was more consonant to extended humanity to take one life, than by ill-timed lenity to lay a foundation, which probably would occasion not only the loss of many, but endanger the independence of a great country.

This grand project terminated with no other alteration in respect of the British, than that of their exchanging one of their best officers for the worst man in the American army. Arnold was immediately made a brigadier-general in the service of the king of Great Britain. The failure of the scheme respecting West Point made it necessary for him to dispel the cloud which overshadowed his character, by the performance of some signal service for his new masters. The condition of the American army afforded him a prospect of doing something of consequence. He flattered himself that by the allurements of pay and promotion, he should be able to raise a numerous force from among the distressed American soldiery. He therefore took methods for accomplishing this purpose, by obviating their scruples, and working on their passions. His first public measure was issuing an address, directed to the inhabitants of America, dated from New-York (October 7), five days after André's execution. This address was soon followed by another, inscribed to the officers and soldiers of the continental army. This was intended to induce them to follow his example, and engage in the royal service. He informed them,

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them, that he was authorised to raise a corps of cavalry and infantry, who were to be on the same footing with the other troops in the British service. To allure the private men, three guineas were offered to each, besides payments for their horses, arms, and accoutrements. Rank in the British army was also held out to the American officers, who would recruit and bring in a certain number of men, proportioned to the different grades in military service. These offers were proposed to unpaid soldiers, who were suffering from the want of both food and clothing, and to officers who were in a great degree obliged to support themselves from their own resources, while they were spending the prime of their days, and risking their lives in the unproductive service of congress. Though they were urged at a time when the paper currency was at its lowest ebb of depreciation, and the wants and distresses of the American army were at their highest pitch, yet they did not produce the intended effect on a single sentinel or officer. Whether the circumstances of Arnold's case added new shades to the crime of desertion, or whether their providential escape from the deep-laid scheme against West Point, gave a higher tone to the firmness of the American soldiery, cannot be unfolded: But either from these or some other causes, desertion wholly ceased at this remarkable period of the war.

It is matter of reproach to the United States, that they brought into public view a man of Arnold's character; but it is to the honour of human nature, that a great revolution and an eight years war produced but one. In civil contests, for officers to change sides has not been unusual; but in the various events of the American war, and among the many regular officers it called to the field, nothing occurred that bore any resemblance to the conduct of Arnold. His singular case enforces the policy of conferring high trusts exclusively on men of clean hands, and of withholding all public confidence from those who are subjected to the dominion of pleasure.

A gallant enterprise of major Talmadge, an American officer, about this time * closed the campaign. He

* November 28.

crossed the Sound to Long Island with 80 men, made a circuitous march of 20 miles to Fort George, and reduced it without any other loss than that of one private man wounded. He killed and wounded eight of the enemy, captured a lieutenant-colonel, a captain, and 55 privates.

It is not to be supposed that the Spaniards on the American frontier would be totally inactive during these transactions. Don Bernardo de Galves, the governor of Louisiana, was one of the first to proclaim the independence of America; and, in the spring of 1780, assembled a small force at New Orleans, and surprised and made himself master of Mobile, and all the British settlements on the Mississippi.

CHAP. XVI.

Causes which produced a rupture with Holland—Armed neutrality—Count Byland's squadron taken—Capture of Mr. Laurens—Declaration of war—Affairs of East Indies—Meeting of new parliament—Mr. Cornwall chosen speaker—Debates on that subject—Death of Maria Theresa—Hurricane in the West Indies—Relief granted by parliament to the sufferers—Debates on Dutch war—Debates on India affairs—Mr. Burke's reform bill again introduced—State of public finances—Loan censured in both houses—Petition of delegates from counties—Bill to repeal the marriage act—Rejected—Motion on American war—Session concluded—Attack upon Jersey—Siege of Gibraltar—Capture of St. Eustatia—Campaign in America—Revolt of Pennsylvania line—Arnold's expedition to Virginia—General Greene appointed to the command in Carolina—Tarleton defeated by Morgan—Masterly retreat of the Americans—Battle of Guilford—Lord Cornwallis proceeds to Virginia—Operations in Virginia—Capture of lord Cornwallis—New London destroyed—Expedition of commodore Johnstone—Operations in the West Indies—Tobago taken—St. Eustatia convoy taken—East Indies—Hyder Ally defeated—Cheyt Sing—Engagement with the Dutch—Combined fleets in the Channel—Mr. Laurens released from the Tower.

[A. D. 1780, 1781.]

THE old adage of "*Quos Deus vult perdere dementat prius*," is generally verified in the conduct of statesmen; those who have made one false step can seldom be persuaded to retract in time, and ruin is the inevitable consequence, unless, by the interposition of the people at large, the public affairs are taken from the hands of the unsuccessful managers, and placed in those of more capable persons, and who enjoy more of the public confidence. The desperation which ill success and ill conduct produces in ministers was never more clearly evinced than in the course of the year 1780. As if Great Bri-

tain had not been sufficiently involved in the work of bloodshed and devastation; by the singular diligence and activity of administration a new enemy was conjured up, and added to an already sufficiently powerful combination.

One of the causes which provoked the resentment of the British ministry against the States General has already been noticed; but there were some of a still more important nature, which it is now time to remark.

The naval superiority of Great Britain had long been the subject of regret and envy in Europe. As it was the interest, so it seemed to be the wish of the European powers to avail themselves of the present favourable moment to effect an humiliation of her maritime grandeur. That the flag of all nations must strike to British ships of war, could not be otherwise than mortifying to independent sovereigns. This haughty demand was not their only cause of complaint. The activity and number of British privateers had rendered them objects of terror, not only to the commercial shipping of their enemies, but to the many vessels belonging to other powers that were employed in trading with them. Various litigations had taken place between the commanders of British armed vessels, and those who were in the service of neutral powers, respecting the extent of that commerce, which was consistent with a strict and fair neutrality. The British insisted on the lawfulness of seizing supplies, which were about to be carried to their enemies. Having been in the habit of commanding on the sea, they considered power and right to be synonymous terms. As other nations, from a dread of provoking their vengeance, had submitted to their claim of dominion on the ocean, they fancied themselves invested with authority to control the commerce of independent nations, when it interfered with their views. This haughtiness worked its own overthrow. The empress of Russia took the lead in establishing a system of maritime laws, which subverted the claims of Great Britain. Her trading vessels had long been harassed by British searches and seizures, on pretence of their carrying on a commerce inconsistent with neu-

neutrality. The present crisis favoured the re-establishment of the laws of nature in place of the usurpations of Great Britain.

On the 26th of February 1780, a declaration was published by the empress of Russia, addressed to the courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid. In this it was observed, "That her Imperial majesty had given such convincing proofs of the strict regard she had for the rights of neutrality, and the liberty of commerce in general, that it might have been hoped her impartial conduct would have entitled her subjects to the enjoyment of the advantages belonging to neutral nations. Experience had however proved the contrary: Her subjects had been molested in their navigation by the ships and privateers of the belligerent powers. Her majesty therefore declared, "That she found it necessary to remove these vexations which had been offered to the commerce of Russia; but before she came to any serious measures, she thought it just and equitable to expose to the world, and particularly to the belligerent powers, the principles she had adopted for her conduct, which were as follows:

"That neutral ships should enjoy a free navigation, even from port to port, and on the coasts of the belligerent powers. That all effects belonging to the belligerent powers should be looked on as free on board such neutral ships, with an exception of places actually blocked up or besieged, and with a proviso that they do not carry to the enemy contraband articles." These were limited by an explanation, so as to "comprehend only warlike stores and ammunition;" and her Imperial majesty declared, that "she was firmly resolved to maintain these principles, and that with the view of protecting the commerce and navigation of her subjects, she had given orders to fit out a considerable part of her naval force." This declaration was communicated to the States General, and the empress of Russia invited them to make a common cause with her, so far as such an union might serve to protect commerce and navigation. Similar communications and invitations were also made to the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon.

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A civil answer was received from the court of Great Britain, and a very cordial one from the court of France. On this occasion it was said by his most christian majesty, "That what her Imperial majesty claimed from the belligerent powers, was nothing more than the rules prescribed to the French navy." The kings of Sweden and Denmark also formally acceded to the principles and measures proposed by the empress of Russia. The States General did the same. The queen of Portugal was the only sovereign who refused to concur. The powers engaged in this association resolved to support each other against any of the belligerent nations, who should violate the principles which had been laid down in the declaration of the empress of Russia.

This combination assumed the name of the armed neutrality. By it a respectable guarantee was procured to a commerce from which France and Spain procured a plentiful supply of articles essentially conducive to a vigorous prosecution of the war. The usurped authority of Great Britain on the highway of nature received a fatal blow. Her embarrassments from this source were aggravated by the consideration that they came from a power in whose friendship she had confided.

The armed neutrality led almost immediately to a rupture with the States General—Besides this cause, their conduct had indeed all along been directed by the narrow and selfish views of trading policy, and not by any sense of former obligations. Few Europeans had a greater prospect of advantage from American independence than the Hollanders. The conquest of the United States would have regained to Great Britain a monopoly of their trade; but the establishment of their independence promised to other nations an equal chance of participating therein. As commerce is the soul of the United Netherlands, to have neglected the present opportunity of extending it would have been a deviation from their established maxims of policy. Former treaties framed in distant periods, when other views were predominant, opposed but a feeble barrier to the claims of present interest. The past generation found it to their advantage to seek the friendship and protection of Great Britain; but

but they who were now on the stage of life, had similar inducements to seek for new channels of trade. Though this could not be done without thwarting the views of the court of London, their recollection of former favours was not sufficient to curb their immediate favourite passion. From the year 1777, sir Joseph Yorke, the British minister at the Hague, had made representations to their high mightinesses of the clandestine commerce carried on between their subjects and the Americans. He particularly stated that Mr. Van Graaf, the governor of St. Eustatia, had permitted an illicit commerce with the Americans; and had at one time returned the salute of a vessel carrying their flag. Sir Joseph, therefore, demanded a formal disavowal of this salute, and the dismissal and immediate recall of governor Van Graaf. This insolent demand was answered with a pusillanimous, temporising reply. On the 12th of September 1778, a memorial was presented to the States General from the merchants and others of Amsterdam, in which they complained that their lawful commerce was obstructed by the ships of his Britannic majesty. On the 22d of July 1779, sir Joseph Yorke demanded of the States General the succours which were stipulated in the treaty of 1678: But this was not complied with.

The British government, therefore, being determined to break with Holland, and having received information, that a large fleet of Dutch merchant-ships, laden with naval and military stores, had sailed for the ports of France, despatched captain Fielding with a proper force to examine the convoy, and to seize such articles as should be deemed contraband. On the 1st of January 1780, commodore Fielding fell in with this fleet, and the Dutch admiral peremptorily refusing permission to search the ships; and the boats which commodore Fielding despatched for that purpose, having been fired at, and prevented from executing his orders; the commodore proceeded to fire a shot a-head of the Dutch admiral, which was answered by a broadside. Count Byland, the Dutch admiral, however, having received one in return, and not being in condition to support the engagement, struck his colours.

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Most of the suspected vessels escaped during the contest. The admiral, with the rest of his squadron, was brought to Spithead. Strong remonstrances were addressed to the ministry by the States General on this transaction, but no satisfaction was obtained. On the 17th of April, a most hostile proclamation was published by the king of Great Britain; but the policy of the Dutch was too deep to be led into the snare laid for them by the British ministry. They saw that more numerous advantages were to be derived from the cultivation of a pacific system, than from precipitating themselves violently into all the calamities of war.

Another occasion, however, soon presented itself for the English to regard the Dutch as enemies. On the 3d of September the Mercury packet, from Philadelphia for Holland, was captured off the banks of Newfoundland by the Vestal frigate. On board the packet was Mr. Laurens, late president of the congress, who was proceeding on a diplomatic commission to the States General. Before the vessel struck, he had thrown his papers overboard; but the greater part of them were recovered, and submitted to the inspection of the privy-council; and among them, it is said, was found the sketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between the two republics, which had been examined and approved by M. Van Berkel, counsellor and grand pensionary of Amsterdam. Mr. Laurens, after having been examined by the privy-council, was committed close prisoner to the Tower, on a charge of high treason; and strong representations were made by the British ambassador at the Hague, to the States General, demanding, that "exemplary punishment should be inflicted on Van Berkel and his accomplices, as disturbers of the public peace, and violators of the rights of nations." The States General observed their usual caution on this occasion; but their deliberate proceedings were not agreeable to the British ministry, who actually published a declaration of war against Holland on the 20th of December.

It was not only in Europe and America that Great Britain was involved in the most distressing embarrassments

ments at this disastrous period, but even in the East Indies several causes had concurred to inspire the native powers of India with general disgust and disapprobation of the politics of England. No regular system was adopted for the government of those provinces, which British valour and rapacity had wrested from the native princes of the East. The whole politics of India were committed to the mercenary servants of the company, who were too intent upon the acquisition of wealth, to entertain any liberal system of policy; and whose whole time and attention were consequently consumed in low intrigues with the native princes, and in schemes of conquest formed on no regular plan.

About the year 1778 the British in India made repeated attempts to interfere in the revolution which had taken place in the Mahratta government. Ragonaut Row caused his nephew the reigning Paishwa (with the care of whom, during his minority, he was solemnly entrusted) to be assassinated, in the hope of securing to himself the sovereignty. From these circumstances, and from the British presidency at Bombay receiving and protecting Ragonaut the murderer of his nephew, the foundation was laid for that famous confederacy which, in the year 1779, was formed between the Nizam, Hyder Ally, and the Mahrattas, the object of which was no less than the complete expulsion of the British from the continent of India. Early in the year 1780 preparations were made for invading the Mahratta territories, and on the 15th of February general Goddard marched with a considerable force to besiege the city of Ahmedabad, the capital of the province of Guzerat, which was taken by storm in five days after the arrival of the British army under its walls; the reduction of the whole province soon followed. On the 3d of April following, the general surprised the camp of Scindia and Holkar, and the Mahratta chiefs were forced to retreat with considerable loss. Some brilliant services were also performed on the side of Bengal. But these successes were more than counterbalanced by the progress made by Hyder Ally, who, having collected a prodigious force, on the 20th of July, made
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his way through the ghauts, or narrow passes in the mountains; and, at the head of nearly one hundred thousand men, entered without resistance the Carnatic; and by the 10th of August his cavalry had penetrated even to the vicinity of Madras.

In this emergency, sir Hector Munro hastily assembled the different corps which were scattered through the province, and endeavoured to post himself strongly on the Mount, to cover and protect the capital; and orders were despatched to colonel Baillie, who commanded in the Guntoor, to hasten back to join the main army, and in the course of his march to endeavour, as much as possible, to intercept the enemy's convoys. In the mean time Hyder formed the siege of Arcot, and sir Hector thought it an indispensable duty to march to its relief. On the approach of the British general, Hyder raised the siege, but directed the route of his army in such a manner across the course of colonel Baillie's detachment, as effectually to prevent the intended junction. On the 6th of September, the troops of the Sultan, under the command of his brother Meer Saib, and his son, the since celebrated Tippoo Sultan, encountered colonels Baillie and Fletcher at a place called Perimbancum. All that skill could devise or valour effect, was performed by the British; and though the disparity of force was almost unexampled, victory at first declared in favour of colonel Baillie. Unfortunately, in the moment of success and exultation, the tumbrils which contained the ammunition, suddenly blew up, and with two dreadful explosions, in the centre of the British lines; and one whole face of their column was laid open, and the artillery destroyed. The moment of advantage was suddenly caught by Tippoo Saib, who forced his way, at the head of his cavalry, into the broken square; and the British being deprived of their ammunition, and not having had even time to form, were, after prodigies of valour, cut to pieces, or made prisoners of war. The British are said to have lost on this occasion about four thousand sepoy, and six hundred Europeans. Immediately after this disastrous event, the army, under sir Hector Munro, retreated, and abandoned Arcot to its fate,

fate, which soon fell into the hands of Hyder Aily. Thus ended this unfortunate campaign in India.

While these things were transacting abroad, the ministry had contrived to procure a new parliament at home, modelled for their purposes. It met on the 31st of October 1780, when their first business was the choice of a speaker. The great merit and faithful services of sir Fletcher Norton were totally obliterated by the quarrel he had with the minister, as has been already mentioned; and another speaker was determined upon. The business, however, was introduced with the highest compliments to the late speaker, and the choice of another was proposed on account of the importance of parliamentary business, which might be productive of debates inconsistent with his precarious state of health; on which account the American secretary (lord George Germaine) moved for Mr. Wolfran Cornwall, a gentleman eminently endued with all the qualifications necessary for fulfilling the duties of that high office with no less honour to himself than advantage to the house; and the motion was seconded by Mr. Welbore Ellis.

The members in opposition expressed the utmost astonishment, not only at the conduct of administration in proposing a new speaker, at the very time that they acknowledged sir Fletcher Norton to be the most proper of all men to fill the office, but at the strange arguments made use of on the occasion. The health of the speaker was now so firmly established, that the pretence of his want of it, especially when coming from the ministerial side, must be considered as an absolute mockery of the house, and a direct insult upon the gentleman himself. Mr. Dunning therefore proposed, that sir Fletcher Norton should be continued speaker, and his motion was seconded by Mr. Thomas Townshend. The late speaker, however, declined the intended honour, and said, that he had come to the house with a full resolution not to stand a candidate for the chair upon any account; but he declared that he must be an idiot indeed, if he could believe that his state of health was the reason of the determination of ministry against his being continued in the chair, and

and gave such reasons for his opinion, that he said it must be an insult on the understanding of every gentleman in the house to pretend, that an anxiety for his health was the real cause of moving for another speaker; and he concluded with asking, why he was so disgracefully dismissed?

This produced a long debate, in which only one gentleman, Mr. Rigby, directly brought any charge against the late speaker. He boldly declared, that he had objections to him on more accounts than one; particularly, because of his conduct in the year 1777, when he made that celebrated speech to the king, which had been made mention of with so much applause and even triumph by opposition. He had at that time strongly expressed his disapprobation both of the speech, and the vote of thanks which had followed it, and which had been read with such triumph in the present debate. He now thought, as he formerly did, that the speaker went too far, that he was not warranted to make such a speech to the throne; and that he thought it was flying in the king's face. He laughed at what had been thrown out, of the secret influence of the crown, and unknown reasons for the choice of a new speaker; and concluded by telling opposition, that the reason of their extreme attachment to sir Fletcher Norton, as well as that of the opposite side of the house to Mr Cornwall, was, in plain English, no more than this: "We will vote for you, if you will be for us."—The debate being closed, Mr. Cornwall's election was carried by 203 to 134.

Next day, November 1st, the new speaker was introduced to the throne, at the head of the house, where he was extremely well received. The king, in his opening speech, declared "his satisfaction in having an opportunity, by the recent election, of receiving the most certain information of the disposition and wishes of his people, to which he was always inclined to pay the utmost attention! He acknowledged the arduous situation of public affairs; but the late signal successes of his arms in Georgia and Carolina would, he trusted, have important consequences, in bringing the war to a happy conclusion."

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An amendment to the address, consisting in the omission of several complimentary paragraphs, was moved in the house of commons by Mr. Thomas Grenville.

The blessings of his majesty's reign being recognised in the proposed address, in high-flown terms, as inspiring sentiments of reverence and gratitude, Mr. Fox declared, "that in this part of the address he could not concur, as he was yet to learn what those blessings were. The present reign had been one continued tissue of disgrace, misfortune, and calamity. As to the honourable mention made of the late successes in America, and of the gallant officers by whom they had been obtained, he should answer, that he would not concur in applauding his own brother, who was now serving in America, for any success he might obtain. He never had joined, and as long as he lived he never would join, in a vote of thanks to any officer, whose laurels were gathered in the American war; for he regarded that war as the fountain-head of all the mischief and misery under which this country now laboured: And he was well convinced that the ministerial prospects of success, however transiently flattering, would be closed in disappointment and delusion." The address, as originally moved, was at length carried by a majority of 69 voices, which, when compared with the majorities of former times, afforded some faint gleam of hope that better days were gradually, though slowly, approaching. No business of material consequence was transacted in parliament till after the Christmas recess.

In the month of November, this year, the empress-queen, the celebrated Maria Theresa, closed a protracted reign of forty years. Few monarchs had experienced greater vicissitudes of fortune, and none ever endured adversity with more dignity and fortitude. While we cheerfully render her memory this tribute of praise, it is evident from the facts stated in a former part of this history, that Great Britain has but little reason to extol her justice and gratitude. Like all the despots of the continent, she was completely selfish; and one of the first uses which she made of returning prosperity, was to betray the very power that had rescued her from ruin. She

was succeeded by her son the emperor Joseph the Second.

In October 1780, the West India islands, and particularly Jamaica and Barbadoes, experienced the ravages of a dreadful hurricane. The plantations were destroyed; the houses and buildings were in general carried away from their foundations by the force of the storm, and an immense number of negroes were killed.

The first business of parliament after the recess was therefore making a grant, on the 23d of January 1781, of eighty thousand pounds for the relief of Barbadoes, and forty thousand pounds for Jamaica. On the 25th of January the king sent a message to the house by his minister, acquainting them that letters of marque and reprisals had been issued against the Dutch. This communication was no sooner made than Mr. Burke observed, "That, however lightly a war might be thought of by some men, he was one of those who thought it always a most serious matter; a matter which nothing but the greatest necessity could justify." It was further observed by the opposition, "that the British manifesto stated that a treaty was entered into between the city of Amsterdam and America; but the treaty now laid before the house was, in the express terms of it, the plan of a treaty, or the rough draught of a compact, the ratification of which was to depend upon events which might never happen. This declaration of war was also ventured on, contrary to every recent precedent, during a recess. The minister was reminded that in this manner the house had been betrayed into all the pernicious measures of his administration. In this manner had the house been led into the American war, that fatal source of all our calamities. In this manner had the French rescript been announced; and afterwards the Spanish rescript, and at length the declaration of war against Holland, our ancient and natural ally. Year after year had the minister acquainted the house with a new enemy, but never had he yet brought them the welcome information of a new friend. Much had been said of the provocations we had received from Holland, and the predomi-

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nance of a French interest in that country—but had Holland received no provocation from us? The insolence of the British memorial presented to the States in 1777, contributed more than any thing else to the prevalence of the French faction in Holland. It had been stated, as a serious ground of offence, that Holland had not complied with the requisition of troops, which, by treaty, she had engaged to furnish. But it was notorious, that, in the event of this compliance, Holland would have been immediately invaded by France; and, in conformity with the same treaties, we must then have sent a much greater aid to the assistance of the republic. If the Dutch at the present period had changed their political system respecting this country, it was owing to the criminal conduct of an administration, who had precipitated us into a war, whence all our misfortunes had arisen. In consequence of that war, our American commerce was lost; and could it be a matter of surprise that the Dutch, a people who existed by commerce, should be desirous to secure a share of it? We were abandoned, not by the Dutch only, but by all the powers of Europe, who were all equally convinced, that, under the present wretched administration of affairs, whoever became the ally of Great Britain would only share in her disgrace and her misfortunes.”

In the house of lords, the duke of Richmond, lord Shelburne, and lord Camden, inculcated the same ideas, with great animation and ability. “As to what was called the treaty between Holland and America,” lord Camden said, “it was the mere unauthorized act of Van Berkel, and betrayed neither directly nor indirectly any intention in the States General of an hostile nature. It did not even appear that they knew any thing of this man or his colleagues; and much less that they had determined to ratify this pretended treaty, or project of a treaty, by which no one was bound, and no one could be injured.”

His lordship contrasted the conduct of the present ministers towards the States General, with that of lord Chatham, who, in the zenith of his victories, had never deviated from the line of respect and moderation. “He was too wise

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and magnanimous, whatever might be the causes of complaint, to adopt the style and language of that provoking, arrogant, and indecent memorial, to which, more than to any other circumstance whatever, the subsequent conduct of the republic might be attributed. His lordship was of opinion, that the manifesto against Holland ought not to receive the sanction of their lordships, till stronger evidence were produced of the necessity, justice, and policy of that measure : And, if no better grounds of hostility should be the result of a more particular inquiry, parliament would be bound to order immediate reparation and satisfaction to be given for the injury already sustained by Holland ; and an end would be of course put to the farther prosecution of hostilities."

The ministry stated in their exculpation the different causes of complaint which they alleged against Holland. They observed, that by the treaty of 1678 it was stipulated that in case Great Britain should be attacked by the house of Bourbon, she had a right to require twenty ships of war, and six thousand troops ; and that the republic had refused to fulfil the terms of the treaty. A further cause of complaint was, that the republic had given protection to Paul Jones, whom lord North and his colleagues had denominated a pirate. The prevalence of a French party in Holland was urged as an additional reason for the commencement of hostilities ; and with respect to the adjournment of parliament, lord North declared, that it would have been full as agreeable to him if the house had sat the whole intermediate time. The opposition replied, that the refusal of the States General to comply with the memorial presented to them by sir Joseph Yorke, and to furnish the assistance required by the treaty of 1678, was called a great cause of offence ; but the truth was, that the States General had acted with more wisdom, and knew *our* interests better than our own ministry. If Holland had complied with the treaty, Great Britain must have been a loser on the whole ; all that we had a right to expect was six thousand troops, and twenty ships of war. The instant they had been furnished, the territories of the States would have been attacked, and then, in compliance

pliance with the same treaty, we must have sent a large army into Holland, and supported her with an immense naval force. It was therefore the interest of Great Britain to have left Holland in a state of neutrality.

An address to his majesty, however, in favour of the war was voted by a great majority in the two houses of parliament.

The crude and improvident politics of lord North and his colleagues had reduced the British possessions in the East Indies to an unsettled and distracted state. On the 4th of December 1780, a petition was presented to the house of commons from the British inhabitants of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, complaining of the injudicious and indiscriminate manner in which the judges of the supreme court endeavoured to administer the English laws in those provinces; and this was seconded by another from the governor-general and council, containing a long statement of the transactions, and requesting an indemnification from the legal penalties, which, for the preservation of government and the country, they had been under the necessity of incurring by forcibly resisting the proceedings of the chief-justice sir Elijah Impey. General Smith, on the 12th of February, moved that these petitions should be referred to a committee of fifteen members to be chosen by ballot, and to meet in a chamber above stairs; and after some time a bill was introduced by general Smith founded on the report of the committee of fifteen, for regulating the administration of justice in India, and for indemnifying the governor-general and council for the resistance made by them to the supreme court. This bill, after some resistance from the law members, passed both houses, and received the royal assent; it defined and limited the authority of the supreme court, and exempted the governor-general and council of Bengal from its jurisdiction. It declared farther, that no person should be under the cognizance of the supreme court, on account of his being a landholder or farmer in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and that no judicial officers in the country courts should be liable to actions in the supreme court for their decisions.

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Mr. Burke, not being dejected by the rejection of his reform bill last year, on the 15th of February moved for leave to bring in a bill exactly similar, and opened his proposition by stating the powerful motives which engaged him now to resume his undertaking; and these were the celebrated resolutions of the late parliament, respecting the alarming increase of the influence of the crown; the general wish and expectation of the people, and the direct applications to himself from several of the most considerable counties.

Under very unfavourable auspices the bill was read a second time, when it experienced the weight of that influence it was meant to reduce. It however introduced to public notice the splendid talents of young lord Maitland, and the captivating eloquence of Mr. William Pitt, the second son of the late earl of Chatham, who in very early youth had been elected a member of the present parliament, and who now exhibited himself to an admiring nation as the supposed heir of his talents and virtues. "One great object," Mr. Pitt said, "of all the petitions which had been presented, was a recommendation of economy in the public expenditure; and the design of the present bill was, to carry into effect the wishes of the people, by introducing a substantial system of economy. Besides the benefits which would result from the bill in this respect, it had another object still more important, and that was the reduction of the influence of the crown, an influence which was the more to be dreaded, because more secret in its attacks, and more concealed in its operations, than the power of prerogative." Mr. Pitt adverted to the extraordinary objections which had been made to the bill; it proposed to bring no more than 200,000*l.* per ann. into the public coffers, and that sum was insignificant, in comparison of the millions annually expended. "What then is the conclusion we are left to deduce? The calamities of the present crisis are too great to be benefited by economy. Our expenses are so enormous, that it is useless to give ourselves any concern about them; we have spent, and are spending so much, that it is foolish to think of saving any thing. Such is the language which

which the opponents of this bill have virtually employed. It had also been said, that the king's civil-list was an ir-refumable parliamentary grant, and it had been even compared to a private freehold. The weakness of such arguments was their best refutation. The civil-list revenue was granted to his majesty, not for his private use, but for the support of the executive government of the state. His majesty, in fact, was the trustee of the public, subject to parliamentary revision. The parliament made the grant, and undoubtedly had a right to resume it when the pressure of the times rendered such resumption necessary. Upon the whole, he considered the present bill as essential to the being and independence of this country, and he would give it his most determined support."

Early in March, the minister, lord North, brought forward the annual statement of the public accounts. The entire expenditure of the year his lordship calculated at twenty-one millions, twelve of which it would be necessary to raise by a public loan: As to the terms of which, his lordship had contracted with the subscribers, to grant 150l. capital stock at three per cent. and 25l. capital stock at four per cent. for every 100l. in money; thus creating a new capital of eighteen millions three per cent. and three millions four per cent. being nine millions more than the sum actually paid into the exchequer. To defray the interest of this loan, new taxes would be wanting to the amount of 660,000l. annually, *i. e.* 60,000l. more than the legal established interest of five per cent.; exclusive of which, as the subscription to the loan bore a premium of ten per cent. the farther sum of 1,200,000l. was lost to the nation. The terms of this extraordinary contract were, even by several of the friends of the minister, declared to be extravagantly high; and it was by Mr. Fox reprobated in the most indignant expressions of severity, as "the most corrupt in its origin, the most shameful in its progress, and the most injurious in its consequences, that ever came under the contemplation of that house. In order to carry on a wicked, im-

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politic, and bloody war, the minister would not scruple," said this formidable speaker, "to extort the last guinea from the pockets of the people. The noble lord stands convicted of having made, in the character of agent and trustee for the nation, an improvident, scandalous, and profligate bargain, for which he deserves public execration and exemplary punishment." The lottery clause he particularly objected to, as the most pernicious and destructive of all species of gaming; as immediately affecting the morals, habits, and circumstances of the lower orders of the people; and which, upon every principle of policy, ought to be carefully avoided. He therefore moved, as an amendment to the minister's motion, for agreeing to the terms of the loan, that the latter clause, respecting the lottery, should be omitted.

On the other hand, the minister defended himself on the plea of necessity, and positively asserted, that the money could not have been obtained on easier conditions. He utterly denied the idea of the loan being any source of influence whatever; and as to the interest which the minister might be supposed to derive from it, he said, it must be but a very poor compensation for the great fatigue and trouble of mind occasioned by such a burden; and he had full conviction, that no business could be more disagreeable. He requested gentlemen to consider the ill consequences of their refusing to accede to the propositions agreed on. The attention paid by moneyed men to the treasury would be lessened; and if it were usual for the house to settle and alter the terms, they must go farther, and conduct the business, and make the bargain themselves. That argument certainly would not go to the support of any thing materially wrong. In that case, the house ought to interfere; but unless the objections were very material, which he trusted they would not be, he left gentlemen to consider the ill consequences of refusing to accede to the propositions which had been agreed on. With respect to the lottery, he said, it was a favourite part of every *douceur* with all money-lenders; it was an encouragement and advantage to them, without
any

any expence to government ; on the contrary, 480,000*l.* was paid in, and remained without interest for the greater part of the year.

Mr. Fox's amendment was rejected on a division by 169 to 111 ; but the business was taken up by sir Philip Jennings Clerke, who arraigned, in the most bitter terms, the bargain made by the minister, which, he said, was become the subject of complaint and conversation in all places. He should therefore move for recommitting the report, in order that the house might amend the terms, and prevent so shameful and extravagant a prostitution of public money. The distribution of the loan had been conducted with scandalous partiality. Instead of being distributed among men of known character and reputation, who had been always the supporters of government, it had been thrown into the hands of the minister's creatures or friends ; and he was well informed, that the favoured contractor (Mr. Atkinson) had no less than 3,300,000*l.* of the loan assigned to his share, or at least at his disposal.

Sir Philip was seconded in his attack by sir George Saville, Mr. Burke, Mr. Fox, Mr. Byng, and some other gentlemen, who, besides reprobating the loan in all its parts and circumstances, insisted that the house was not in any manner of way bound to fulfil the conditions ; and they affirmed, that nothing could be more detrimental to the national credit, than the attempt of the ministers to turn the parliament of Great Britain into a court of regency, which was to have no other concern with taxes and loans than to give an official sanction to their bargains.

The minister defended himself by retorting the charge of injuring the national credit upon those who wished to make a new bargain for the public. He maintained, that no immediate saving could counterbalance the shock which this would give to the credit of parliament. He denied that Mr. Atkinson could have any such enormous share as was attributed to him ; and said, he would venture to undergo any censure the house should impose, if
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it were found to be a fact.—At last, on a division, the lottery was confirmed by 133 to 80.

Another and more violent attack was now * made upon this unfortunate loan by Mr. Byng, who had been at the utmost pains to trace the matter to the bottom. He therefore moved, “that a list of all the subscribers to the new loan, specifying also the sums subscribed by each, should be laid before the house.” But, as this alone would not be sufficient to bring out the necessary information, he intended to follow it with two others, *viz.* “To lay before the house a correct list of all those persons who had offered to become subscribers to the new loan, but whose offers had been rejected, specifying the particular sums they had offered to subscribe.” A third was for “the copies of all letters, notes, or other papers, that had been sent to the minister, his secretaries, the commissioners of the treasury, or any other persons, from whose hands they were transmitted to him, conveying an application or proposals for any part of the loan.” The reasons which induced him to make these motions were to show, that the money might have been borrowed at 5 per cent. that the minister was offered the immense sum of 38 millions, and consequently was under no necessity to hurry on the bargain in such a precipitate manner; that these proposals were made by wealthy and substantial men, fully able to support their pretensions, but whose proposals were rejected with contempt; and that it was evident the new loan could be made with no other view than that of corrupt influence.

From this dangerous attack the minister defended himself by assenting to the first motion, treating the second as useless, and the third as unfair and improper. The house, of consequence, agreed to the first; rejected the second upon a division; and the third without any. In the house of lords, however, the loan did not escape the most severe animadversion from the marquis of Rockingham. It had met with such extraordinary opposition,

* March 12.

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in all its stages, in the house of commons, that it had been hurried up with great despatch to the house of lords, and that without going through all the customary forms. The marquis, therefore, slightly touching upon this irregular proceeding, directed his objections immediately against the substance of the bill. After largely insisting upon the topics which had been so fully treated in the lower house, he concluded, that the minister had broken his faith with parliament and the nation; that, though he should not put a negative on the bill, he thought himself called upon, as an act of duty, to testify his disapprobation of the loan, which, in a time of public calamity like the present, when the utmost economy was necessary, more particularly, he had wantonly and corruptly lavished about a million sterling; and that, in his opinion, merely for the purpose of influencing or bribing the representatives of the people in parliament to give their countenance and support to the continuance of a most wicked, impolitic, and ruinous war. To all this, however, the lords in administration did not think proper to make the smallest reply; and the bill was passed without further animadversion.

The existing grievances of the country appeared so much to increase in consequence of the war, and so little prospect of redress was afforded by the last parliament, that an association was formed by several of the most opulent and populous counties, and delegates were chosen for the purpose of prosecuting the object of a parliamentary reform, with proper vigour and unanimity. A petition prepared by the delegates, and signed by themselves only, was presented on the 8th of May, by Mr. Duncombe and sir George Saville, who moved that it should be referred to a committee of the whole house. The motion was however rejected on the plea that it was a petition not from the parties who complained of the grievances, but from persons in a delegated capacity. The numbers were 212, to 135.

Mr. Fox made an effort, in the course of this session, to introduce a bill for the repeal, or at least for a modifica-

tion, of the famous marriage act. The principal feature in the proposed bill was, that it reduced the legal age for contracting marriage to eighteen in males, and sixteen in females, and no marriage was to be annulled after the parties had cohabited for one year. The bill passed the house of commons, but was rejected by the lords.

Towards the end of the session, Mr. Fox moved the house to resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the American war, for the purpose of devising some means of accommodation. This motion was supported in an animated speech by Mr. Pitt, who expressed his utter abhorrence of a war, "which was conceived," he said, "in injustice, nurtured in folly, and whose footsteps were marked with slaughter and devastation. It exhibited the height of moral depravity and human turpitude. The nation was drained of its best blood and its vital resources, for which nothing was received in return but a series of inefficient victories or disgraceful defeats, victories obtained over men struggling in the holy cause of liberty, or defeats which filled the land with mourning for the loss of dear and valuable relatives, slain in a detested and impious quarrel." The motion was rejected by a majority of 73 voices.

On the 18th of July 1781, the session was closed by a speech, in which his majesty observed, "that the great efforts made by the nation, to surmount the difficulties of the present arduous and complicated war, must convince the world that the ancient spirit of the British nation was not abated or diminished; and he was resolved to accept of no terms or conditions of peace, than such as might consist with the honour and dignity of his crown, and the permanent interests and security of his people."

We now return to the military transactions of this eventful year. On the 6th of January 1781, eight hundred French troops under the command of the baron de Rulle, landed before day-break on the island of Jersey; and so little expectation was entertained of any attack, that they passed undiscovered to the town of St. Hillier, and, to the utter astonishment of the inhabitants, at day-break, the market-

market-place was filled with French soldiers. Fortunately the lieutenant-governor, major Moses Corbet, had received information of their landing, time enough to despatch intelligence to the different stations of the three regiments in the island, and to the militia. But he was taken prisoner himself by seven o'clock, and immediately carried before the French commander, who pressed him to sign terms of capitulation, under pain of firing the town and putting the inhabitants to the sword. It was in vain the governor represented, that, being a prisoner, he was deprived of all authority, and no capitulation that he could sign would be of any force or efficacy: The general still insisted, and to avoid the consequences, the governor ratified the capitulation.

The king's troops and the militia assembled on the heights near the town, under the command of major Pierson, and now in their turn summoned the invaders to surrender themselves prisoners of war. An engagement ensued, in which major Pierson was killed; and the French general being mortally wounded, the second in command desired Mr. Corbet to resume the government, and accept their submission as prisoners of war. The negligence of the lieutenant-governor was afterwards censured by a court-martial, and he was dismissed from his office.

The siege of Gibraltar still continued, and the blockade was renewed after admiral Rodney's departure; but the Spaniards under Don Barcelo were defeated on the 7th of June, in an attempt to burn the English shipping in the harbour there. In the command of the channel fleet, sir Charles Hardy, who died on the 19th of May, was succeeded by admiral Geary. He sailed in the beginning of June, and was not out many days before he was so fortunate as to intercept a considerable convoy of French West India ships, homeward bound from St. Domingo, and captured twelve rich vessels. But this advantage was counterbalanced by the loss of almost the whole outward-bound convoy from England to the East and West Indies, which on the 29th of July was taken by the combined fleets to the number of fifty-five.

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In the mean time, the court of Spain, mortified at this repeated disappointment, determined to make greater exertions for the reduction of Gibraltar. Their works were carried on with more vigour than ever. Having on an experiment of twenty months found the inefficacy of a blockade, they resolved to try the effects of a bombardment. Their batteries were mounted with guns of the heaviest metal, and with mortars of the largest dimensions. These disgorged torrents of fire on a narrow spot. It seemed as if not only the works, but the rock itself, must have been overwhelmed. All distinction of parts was lost in flame and smoke. This dreadful cannonade continued day and night, almost incessantly for three weeks, in every 24 hours of which 100,000lbs. of gunpowder were consumed, and between 4 and 5000 shot and shells went through the town. It then slackened, but was not intermitted during one whole day for upwards of a twelvemonth. The fatigues of the garrison were extreme; but the loss of men was less than might have been expected. For the first ten weeks of this unexampled bombardment, the whole number of killed and wounded was only about 300. The damage done to the works was trifling. The houses in the town, about 500 in number, were mostly destroyed. Such of the inhabitants as were not buried in the ruins of their houses, or torn to pieces by the shells, fled to the remote parts of the rock; but destruction followed them to places which had always been deemed secure. No scene could be more deplorable. Mothers and children clasped in each other's arms, were so completely torn to pieces, that it seemed more like an annihilation, than a dispersion of their shattered fragments. Ladies of the greatest sensibility and most delicate constitutions deemed themselves happy to be admitted to a few hours of repose in the casemates amidst the noise of a crowded soldiery, and the groans of the wounded.

At the first onset general Elliot retorted on the besiegers a shower of fire; but foreseeing the difficulty of procuring supplies, he soon retrenched, and received with comparative unconcern, the fury and violence of his adversaries. By the latter end of November, the besiegers had brought
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their works to that state of perfection which they intended. The care and ingenuity employed upon them were extraordinary. The best engineers of France and Spain had united their abilities, and both kingdoms were filled with sanguine expectations of speedy success. In this conjuncture, when all Europe was in suspense concerning the fate of the garrison, and when, from the prodigious efforts made for its reduction, many believed that it could not hold out much longer, a sally was projected and executed, which in about two hours destroyed those works which had required so much time, skill, and labour to accomplish.

A body of 2000 chosen men, under the command of Brigadier-general Ross, marched out about 2 o'clock in the morning of the 27th of November 1781, and at the same instant made a general attack on the whole exterior front of the lines of the besiegers. The Spaniards gave way on every side, and abandoned their works. The pioneers and artillery-men spread their fire with such rapidity, that in a little time every thing combustible was in flames. The mortars and cannon were spiked, and their beds, platforms, and carriages destroyed. The magazines blew up one after another. The loss of the detachment, which accomplished all this destruction, was inconsiderable.

This unexpected event disconcerted the besiegers; but they soon recovered from their alarm, and with a perseverance almost peculiar to their nation, determined to go on with the siege. Their subsequent exertions and reiterated defeats shall be related in the order of time in which they took place.

The war with Holland was no sooner resolved upon, than the storm of British vengeance burst on the Dutch island of St. Eustatius. This, though intrinsically of little value, had long been the seat of an extensive commerce. It was the grand free port of the West Indies, and as such was a general market and magazine to all nations. In consequence of its neutrality and situation, together with its unbounded freedom of trade, it reaped the richest harvests of commerce, during the seasons of

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warfare among its neighbours; it was in a particular manner a convenient channel of supply to the Americans.

The island is a natural fortification, and very capable of being made strong; but as its inhabitants were a motley mixture of transient persons, wholly intent on the gains of commerce, they were more solicitous to acquire property, than attentive to improve those means of security which the island afforded.

On the 3d of February 1781, sir George Rodney and general Vaughan, with a large fleet and army, surrounded this island, and demanded a surrender of it and of its dependencies within an hour. Mr. de Graaf returned for answer, "that being utterly incapable of making any defence against the force which invested the island, he must of necessity surrender it, only recommending the town and its inhabitants to the known and usual clemency of British commanders."

The wealth accumulated in this barren spot was prodigious. The whole island seemed to be one vast magazine. The storehouses were filled, and the beach covered with valuable commodities. These alone, on a moderate calculation, were estimated to be worth above three millions sterling. All this property, together with what was found on the island, was indiscriminately seized and declared to be confiscated. This valuable booty was farther increased by new arrivals. The conquerors for some time kept up Dutch colours, which decoyed a number of French, Dutch, and American vessels into their hands. Above 150 merchant-vessels, most of which were richly laden, were captured. A Dutch frigate of 38 guns, and five small armed vessels, shared the same fate. The neighbouring islands of St. Martin and Saba were in like manner reduced. Just before the arrival of the British, 30 large ships, laden with West India commodities, had sailed from Eustatius for Holland, under the convoy of a ship of sixty guns. Admiral Rodney despatched the *Monarch* and *Panther*, with the *Sybil* frigate, in pursuit of this fleet: the whole of it was overtaken and captured,

The Dutch West India company, many of the citizens of Amsterdam, and several Americans, were great sufferers by the capture of this island, and the confiscation of all property found therein, which immediately followed; but the British merchants were much more so. These, confiding in the acknowledged neutrality of the island, and in acts of parliament, had accumulated there great quantities of West India produce as well as European goods. They stated their hard case to admiral Rodney and general Vaughan, and contended that their connexion with the captured island was under the sanction of acts of parliament, and that their commerce had been conducted according to the rules and maxims of trading nations. To applications of this kind it was answered, "that the island was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, was under the protection of the Dutch flag, and as Dutch it should be treated."

The severity with which the victors proceeded drew on them pointed censures, not only from the immediate sufferers, but from all Europe. It must be supposed that they were filled with resentment for the supplies which the Americans received through this channel; but there is also reason to suspect, that the love of gain was cloaked under the specious veil of national policy.

The horrors of an universal havoc of property were realised. The merchants and traders were ordered to give up their books of correspondence, their letters, and also inventories of all their effects, inclusive of an exact account of all money and plate in their possession. The Jews were designated as objects of particular resentment: They were ordered to give up the keys of their stores, to leave their wealth and merchandise behind them, and to depart the island without knowing the place of their destination. From a natural wish to be furnished with the means of supplying their wants, in the place of their future residence, they secreted in their wearing apparel, gold, silver, and other articles of great value and small bulk. The policy of these unfortunate Hebrews did not avail them. The avarice of the conquerors effectually coun-

counteracted their ingenuity. They were stripped, searched, and despoiled of their money and jewels. In this state of wretchedness, many of the inhabitants were transported as outlaws, and landed on St. Christopher's. The assembly of that island with great humanity provided for them such articles as their situation required. The Jews were soon followed by the Americans: Some of these, though they had been banished from the United States, on account of their having taken part with Great Britain, were banished a second time by the conquering troops of the sovereign in whose service they had previously suffered. The French merchants and traders were next ordered off the island; and lastly, the native Dutch were obliged to submit to the same sentence. Many opulent persons, in consequence of these proceedings, were instantly reduced to extreme indigence.

In the mean time public sales were advertised, and persons of all nations invited to become purchasers. The island of St. Eustatius became a scene of constant auctions. There never was a better market for buyers. The immense quantities exposed for sale, reduced the price of many articles far below their original cost. Many of the commodities sold on this occasion became, in the hands of their new purchasers, as effectual supplies to the enemies of Great Britain, as they could have been in case the island had not been captured. The spirit of gain, which led the traders of St. Eustatius to sacrifice the interests of Great Britain, influenced the conquerors to do the same. The friends of humanity, who wish that war was exterminated from the world, or entered into only for the attainment of national liberty must be gratified when they are told, that this unexampled rapacity was one link in the great chain of causes which, as hereafter shall be explained, brought on the great event in the Chesapeake, which gave peace to contending nations. While admiral Rodney and his officers were bewildered in the sales of confiscated property at St. Eustatius, and especially while his fleet was weakened, by a large detachment sent off to convoy their booty to Great Britain, the French were
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silently executing a well-digested scheme, which assured them a naval superiority on the American coast, to the total ruin of the British interest in the United States.

The campaign in America however commenced with some favourable omens to the British; for though general Arnold's address to his countrymen produced no effect in detaching the soldiery of America from the unproductive service of congress, their steadiness could not be accounted for, from any melioration of their circumstances. They still remained without pay, and without such clothing as the season required. They could not be induced to enter the British service; but their complicated distresses at length broke out into deliberate mutiny. This event, which had been long expected, made its first threatening appearance in the Pennsylvania line. The common soldiers enlisted in that state were for the most part natives of Ireland, but though not bound to America by the accidental tie of birth, they were inferior to none in discipline, courage, or attachment to the cause of independence. They had been, but a few months before, the most active instruments in quelling a mutiny of the Connecticut troops, and had on all occasions done their duty to admiration. An ambiguity in the terms of their enlistment furnished a pretext for their conduct. A great part of them were enlisted for three years, or during the war; the three years were expired, and the men insisted that the choice of staying or going remained with them, while the officers contended that the choice was in the state.

The mutiny was excited by the non-commissioned officers and privates, in the night of the 1st of January 1781, and soon became so universal in the line of that state as to defy all opposition. The whole, except three regiments, upon a signal for the purpose, turned out under arms without their officers, and declared for a redress of grievances. The officers in vain endeavoured to quell them. Several were wounded, and a captain was killed in attempting it. General Wayne presented his pistols, as if about to fire on them: They held their bayonets to his breast, and said, "We love and respect you, but if you fire, you are a dead man. We are not going
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to the enemy ; on the contrary, if they were now to come out, you should see us fight under your orders with as much alacrity as ever ; but we will be no longer amused, we are determined on obtaining what is our just due." Deaf to arguments and entreaties, they, to the number of 1300, moved off in a body from Morristown, and proceeded in good order with their arms and six field-pieces to Princeton. They elected temporary officers from their own body, and appointed a serjeant-major, who had formerly deserted from the British army, to be their commander. General Wayne forwarded provisions after them to prevent their plundering the country for their subsistence. They invaded no man's property, farther than their immediate necessities made unavoidable. This was readily submitted to by the inhabitants, who had long been used to exactions of the same kind, levied for similar purposes by their lawful rulers. They professed that they had no object in view, but to obtain what was justly due to them, nor were their actions inconsistent with that profession.

Congress sent a committee of their body, consisting of general Sullivan, Mr. Matthews, Mr. Atlee, and Dr. Witherspoon, to procure an accommodation. The revolvers were resolute in refusing any terms, of which a redress of their grievances was not the foundation. Every thing asked of their country, they might, at any time after the 6th of January, have obtained from the British, by passing over into New-York. This they refused. Their sufferings had exhausted their patience, but not their patriotism. Sir Henry Clinton, by confidential messengers, offered to take them under the protection of the British government, to pardon all their past offences, to have the pay due to them from congress faithfully made up, without any expectation of military service in return, although it would be received if voluntarily offered. It was recommended to them to move behind the South River ; and it was promised, that a detachment of the British troops should be in readiness for their protection as soon as desired. In the mean time, the troops passed over from New-York to Staten Island, and the necessary arrange-

arrangements were made for moving them into New-Jersey, whenever they might be wanted. The royal commander was not less disappointed than surprised to find that the faithful though revolting soldiers disdain-
ed his offers. The messengers of sir Henry Clinton were seized and delivered to general Wayne. President Reed and general Potter were appointed, by the council of Pennsylvania, to accommodate matters with the revolvers. They met them at Princeton, and agreed to dismiss all whose terms of enlistment were completed, and admitted the oath of each soldier to be evidence in his own case. A board of officers tried and condemned the British spies, and they were instantly executed. President Reed offered a purse of 100 guineas to the mutineers, as a reward of their fidelity, in delivering up the spies; but they refused to accept it, saying, "That what they had done was only a duty they owed their country, and that they neither desired nor would receive any reward but the approbation of that country, for which they have so often fought and bled."

The spirit of mutiny proved contagious among the Americans. In the month of January 1781, about 160 of the Jersey troops followed the example of the Pennsylvania line; but they did not conduct themselves with equal spirit, nor with equal prudence. They committed several acts of outrage against particular officers, while they affected to be submissive to others. Major-general Howe, with a considerable force, was ordered to take methods for reducing them to obedience. Convinced that there was no medium between dignity and servility, but coercion, and that no other remedy could be applied without the deepest wound to the service, he determined to proceed against them with decision. General Howe marched from Kingwood about midnight; and by the dawning of the next day had his men in four different positions, to prevent the revolvers from making their escape. Every avenue being secured, colonel Barber, of the Jersey line, was sent to them, with orders immediately to parade without arms; and to march to a particular spot of ground. Some hesitation appearing among them, colo-
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nel Sproat was directed to advance, and only five minutes were given to the mutineers to comply with the orders which had been sent them. This had its effect, and they to a man marched without arms to the appointed ground. The Jersey officers gave a list of the leaders of the revolt, upon which general Howe desired them to select three of the greatest offenders. A field court martial was presently held upon these three, and they were unanimously sentenced to death. Two of them were executed on the spot, and the executioners were selected from among the most active in the mutiny. The men were divided into platoons, and made public concessions to their officers, and promised by future good conduct to atone for past offences.

While the Americans were suffering the complicated calamities which introduced the year 1781, their adversaries were carrying on the most extensive plan of operation, which had ever been attempted since the war. It had often been objected to the British commanders, that they had not conducted the war in the manner most likely to effect the subjugation of the revolted provinces. Military critics, in particular, found fault with them for keeping a large army idle at New-York, which they said, if properly applied, would have been sufficient to make successful impressions at one and the same time on several of the states. The British seem to have calculated the campaign of 1781, with a view to make an experiment of the comparative merit of this mode of conducting military operations. The war raged in that year, not only in the vicinity of the British head-quarters at New-York, but in Georgia, South-Carolina, North-Carolina, and in Virginia. The latter state, from its peculiar situation, and from the modes of building, planting, and living, which had been adopted by the inhabitants, is particularly exposed, and lies at the mercy of whatever army is master of the Chesapeake. These circumstances, together with the pre-eminent rank which Virginia held in the confederacy, pointed out the propriety of making that state the object of particular attention. To favour lord Cornwallis's designs in the southern states, major-general

general Leslie, with about 2000 men, had been detached from New-York to the Chesapeak, in the latter end of 1780; but subsequent events induced his lordship to order him from Virginia to Charlestown, with the view of his more effectually co-operating with the army under his own immediate command. Soon after the departure of general Leslie, Virginia was again invaded by another party from New-York. This was commanded by general Arnold, now a brigadier in the royal army. His force consisted of about 1600 men, and was supported by such a number of armed vessels as enabled him to commit extensive ravages on the unprotected coasts of that well-watered country. On the 5th of January the invaders landed about 15 miles below Richmond; and in two days marched into the town, where they destroyed large quantities of tobacco, salt, rum, sail-cloth, and other merchandise. Successive excursions were made to several other places, in which the royal army committed similar devastations.

In about a fortnight, they marched into Portsmouth, and began to fortify it. The loss they sustained from the feeble opposition of the dispersed inhabitants was inconsiderable. The havoc made by general Arnold, and the apprehension of a design to fix a permanent post in Virginia, induced general Washington to detach the marquis de la Fayette, with 1200 of the American infantry, to that state, and also to urge the French in Rhode Island to co-operate with him in attempting to capture Arnold and his party. The French commanders eagerly closed with the proposal. Since they had landed in the United States, no proper opportunity of gratifying their passion for military fame had yet presented itself. They rejoiced at that which now offered, and indulged a cheerful hope of rendering essential service to their allies, by cutting off the retreat of Arnold's party. With this view, their fleet, with 1500 additional men on board, on the 8th of March sailed from Rhode Island for Virginia. D'Estouches, who, since the death of de Ternay in the preceding December, had commanded the French fleet, previous to the sailing of his whole naval force,

force, on the 9th of February despatched the *Eveill  *, a sixty-four gun ship, and two frigates, with orders to destroy the British ships and frigates in the Chesapeake. These took or destroyed ten vessels, and captured the *Romulus* of 44 guns. On the 10th of March, *Arbutnot* with a British fleet sailed from Gardiner's Bay, in pursuit of *D'Estouches*. On the 16th of the same month, the former overtook and engaged the latter off the Capes of Virginia. The British had the advantage of more guns than the French; but the latter were much more strongly manned than the former. The contest between the fleets thus nearly balanced, ended without the loss of a ship on either side; but the British obtained the fruits of victory so far as to frustrate the whole scheme of their adversaries. The fleet of his most christian majesty returned to Rhode Island without effecting the object of the expedition. Thus was Arnold saved from imminent danger of falling into the hands of his exasperated countrymen. The day before the French fleet returned to Newport (March 25), a convoy arrived in the Chesapeake from New-York, with major-general Philips, and about 2000 men. This distinguished officer, who having been taken at Saratoga, had been lately exchanged, was appointed to be commander of the royal forces in Virginia. Philips and Arnold soon made a junction, and carried every thing before them. They successively defeated those bodies of militia which came in their way. The whole country was open to their excursions. On their embarkation from Portsmouth, a detachment visited York-Town, but the main body proceeded to Williamsburgh. On the 22d of April they reached Chickapowing. A party proceeded up that river ten or twelve miles, and destroyed much property. On the 24th they landed at City Point, and soon after they marched for Petersburg. About one mile from the town they were opposed by a small force commanded by baron Steuben; but this, after making a gallant resistance, was compelled to retreat.

At Petersburg they destroyed 4000 hogheads of tobacco, a ship, and a number of small vessels. Within
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three days one party marched to Chesterfield court-house, and burned a range of barracks, and 300 barrels of flour. On the same day, another party under the command of general Arnold marched to Osborne's. About four miles above this place, a small marine force was drawn up to oppose him. General Arnold sent a flag to treat with the commander of this fleet, but he declared that he would defend it to the last extremity. Upon this refusal, Arnold advanced with some artillery, and fired upon him with decisive effect from the banks of the river. Two ships and ten small vessels loaded with tobacco, cordage, flour, &c. were captured. Four ships, five brigantines, and a number of small vessels, were burnt or sunk. The quantity of tobacco taken or destroyed in this fleet, exceeded 2000 hogsheads, and the whole was effected without the loss of a single man on the side of the British. The royal forces then marched up the Fork till they arrived at Manchester. There they destroyed 1200 hogsheads of tobacco; and returning thence, they made great havoc at Warmick. They destroyed the ships on the stocks and in the river, and a large range of rope-walks. A magazine of 500 barrels of flour, with a number of warehouses, and of tan-houses, all filled with their respective commodities, were also consumed in one general conflagration. On the 9th of May they returned to Petersburg, having, in the course of the preceding three weeks, destroyed property to an immense amount. With this expedition, major-general Philips terminated a life, which in all his previous operations had been full of glory. At early periods of his military career, on different occasions in a preceding war, he had gained the full approbation of prince Ferdinand, under whom he had served in Germany. As an officer he was universally admired. Though much of the devastations committed by the troops under his command, may be vindicated on the principles of those who hold that the rights and laws of war are of equal obligation with the rights and laws of humanity; yet the friends of his fame have reason to regret that he did not die three weeks sooner.

The successes which, with a few checks, followed the British arms since they had reduced Savannah and Charlestown, encouraged them to pursue their object by advancing from south to north. A vigorous invasion of North-Carolina was therefore projected, for the business of the winter which followed general Gates's defeat. The Americans were sensible of the necessity of reinforcing and supporting their southern army, but were destitute of the means of doing it. Their northern army would not admit of being farther weakened, nor was there time to march over the intervening distance of seven hundred miles; but if men could have been procured, and time allowed for marching them to South Carolina, money for defraying the unavoidable expenses of their transportation could not be commanded, either in the latter end of 1780, or in the first months of 1781. Though congress was unable to forward either men or money, for the relief of the southern states, they did what was equivalent; they sent them a general, whose head was a council, and whose military talents were equal to a reinforcement. The nomination of an officer for this important trust was left to general Washington. He mentioned general Greene, adding for a reason, "that he was an officer in whose abilities and integrity, from a long and intimate experience, he had the most entire confidence."

The American army, after its defeat and dispersion on the 16th of August 1780, rendezvoused at Hillsborough. In the latter end of the year they advanced to Charlotte-Town. At this place general Gates transferred the command to general Greene. The manly resignation of the one, was equalled by the delicate disinterestedness of the other. Expressions of civility, and acts of friendship and attention, were reciprocally exchanged. Within a few hours after Greene took charge of the army, a report was made of a gallant enterprise of lieutenant-colonel Washington. Being out on a foraging excursion, he had penetrated within 13 miles of Camden, to Clermont, the seat of lieutenant-colonel Rigley of the British militia. This was fortified by a block-house, and encompassed by an abbatis, and was defended by upwards of

of one hundred of the inhabitants, who had submitted to the British government. Lieutenant-colonel Washington advanced with his cavalry, and planted the trunk of a pine tree, so as to resemble a field-piece. The lucky moment was seized, and a peremptory demand of an immediate surrender was made, when the garrison was impressed with the expectation of an immediate cannonade in case of their refusal. The whole surrendered at discretion, without a shot on either side.

With an inconsiderable army, miserably provided, general Greene took the field against a superior British regular force, which had marched in triumph 200 miles from the sea-coast, and was flushed with successive victories through a whole campaign. Soon after he took the command, he divided his force, and sent general Morgan with a respectable detachment to the western extremity of South-Carolina, and about the same time marched with the main body to Hick's Creek, on the north side of the Pedee, opposite the Cheraw Hill.

The successes which British valour had achieved in the southern states, were soon reversed apparently by the ill conduct of the ministry, and those whom they employed. The residence of the British army, instead of increasing the real friends to royal government, diminished their number, and added new vigour to the opposite party. The British had a post in Ninety-six for thirteen months, during which time the American historian asserts the country was filled with rapine, violence, and murder. Applications were daily made for redress, yet in that whole period there was not a single instance wherein punishment was inflicted, either on the soldiery or the tories. The people soon found that there was no security for their lives, liberties, or property, under the military government of British officers, careless of their civil rights. The peaceable citizens were reduced to that uncommon distress, in which they had more to fear from oppression than resistance; they therefore most ardently wished for an American force. Under these favourable circumstances general Greene detached general Morgan

Morgan to take a position in that district. The appearance of this force, a sincere attachment to the cause of independence, and the impolitic conduct of the British, induced several persons to resume their arms, and to act in concert with the continental troops.

When his irruption was made into the district of Ninety-six, lord Cornwallis was far advanced in his preparations for the invasion of North-Carolina. To leave general Morgan in the rear, was contrary to military policy. In order therefore to drive him from this station, and to deter the inhabitants from joining him, lieutenant-colonel Tarleton was ordered to proceed with about 1100 men, and “push him to the utmost.” He had two field-pieces, and a superiority of infantry in the proportion of five to four, and of cavalry in the proportion of three to one. Besides this inequality of force, two thirds of the troops under general Morgan were militia. With these fair prospects of success, Tarleton, on the 17th of January 1781, engaged Morgan at the Cowpens, with the expectation of driving him out of South-Carolina. The latter drew up his men in two lines. The whole of the southern militia, with 190 from North-Carolina, were put under the command of colonel Pickens. These formed the first line, and were advanced a few hundred yards before the second, with orders to form on the right of the second, when forced to retire. The second line consisted of the light-infantry, and a corps of Virginia militia riflemen. Lieutenant-colonel Washington, with his cavalry, and about 45 militia-men, mounted and equipped with swords, were drawn up at some distance in the rear of the whole. The open wood in which they were formed, was neither secured in front, flank, or rear. On the side of the British, the light legion infantry and fusileers, though worn down with extreme fatigue, were ordered to form the line. Before this order was executed, the line, though far from being complete, was led to the attack by Tarleton himself. They advanced with a shout, and poured in an incessant fire of musquetry. Colonel Pickens directed the men under his command to restrain their fire till the British were within forty or fifty yards, This

This order, though executed with great firmness, was not sufficient to repel their advancing foes. The militia fell back. The British advanced and engaged the second line, which, after an obstinate conflict, was compelled to retreat to the cavalry. In this crisis, lieutenant-colonel Washington made a successful charge on captain Ogilvie, who, with about forty dragoons, was cutting down the militia, and forced them to retreat in confusion. Lieutenant-colonel Howard almost at the same moment rallied the continental troops, and charged with fixed bayonets. The example was instantly followed by the militia. Nothing could exceed the astonishment and confusion of the British, occasioned by these unexpected charges. Their advance fell back on their rear, and communicated a panic to the whole. Two hundred and fifty horse which had not been engaged, fled with precipitation. The pieces of artillery were seized by the Americans, and the greatest confusion took place among the infantry. While they were in this state of disorder, lieutenant-colonel Howard called to them to "lay down their arms," and promised them good quarter. Some hundreds accepted the offer, and surrendered. The first battalion of the 71st, and two British light-infantry companies, laid down their arms to the American militia. A party which had been left some distance in the rear to guard the baggage, was the only body of infantry that escaped. The officer of that detachment, on hearing of Tarleton's defeat, destroyed a great part of the baggage, and retreated to lord Cornwallis. Upwards of 300 of the British were killed or wounded, and above 500 prisoners were taken. Eight hundred muskets, 2 field-pieces, 35 baggage-waggons, and 100 dragoon horses, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Americans had only 12 men killed and 60 wounded.

Lord Cornwallis, though preparing to extend his conquests northerly, was not inattentive to the security of South-Carolina. Besides the force at Charlestown, he left a considerable body of troops under the command of lord Rawdon. These were principally stationed at Camden, from which central situation they might easily be drawn forth

forth to defend the frontiers, or to suppress insurrections. To facilitate the intended operations against North-Carolina, major Craig, with a detachment of about 300 men from Charlestown, and a small marine force, took possession of Wilmington. While these arrangements were making, the year 1781 commenced with the fairest prospects to the friends of British government. The arrival of general Leslie in Charlestown, with his late command in Virginia, gave earl Cornwallis a decided superiority, and enabled him to attempt the reduction of North-Carolina, with a force sufficient to bear down all probable opposition. Arnold was before him in Virginia, while South-Carolina in his rear was considered as completely subdued. His lordship had much to hope and little to fear. His admirers flattered him with the expectation, that his victory at Camden would but prove the dawn of his glory; and that the events of the approaching campaign would immortalize his name as the conqueror, at least of the southern states. Whilst lord Cornwallis was indulging these pleasing prospects, he received intelligence, no less unwelcome than unexpected, that Tarleton, his favourite officer, in whom he placed the greatest confidence, instead of driving Morgan out of the country, was completely defeated by him. This surprised and mortified, but did not discourage his lordship. He hoped by vigorous exertions soon to obtain reparation for the late disastrous event, and even to recover what he had lost. With the expectation of retaking the prisoners captured at the Cowpens, and to obliterate the impression made by the issue of the late action at that place, his lordship instantly determined on the pursuit of general Morgan, who had moved off towards Virginia with his prisoners. The movements of the royal army in consequence of this determination, induced general Greene immediately to retreat from Hick's Creek, lest the British, by crossing the upper sources of the Pedee, should get between him and the detachment, which was encumbered with the prisoners. In this critical situation general Greene left the main army, under the command of general Huger, and rode 150 miles through the country, to join the detachment under general

Morgan, that he might be in front of lord Cornwallis, and direct the motions of both divisions of his army, so as to form a speedy junction between them. Immediately after the action, on the 17th of January, Morgan sent on his prisoners under a proper guard, and having made every arrangement in his power for their security, retreated with expedition. Nevertheless the British gained ground upon him. Morgan intended to cross the mountains with his detachment and prisoners, that he might more effectually secure the latter: But Greene, on his arrival, ordered the prisoners to Charlotteville, and directed the troops to Guildford court-house, to which place he had also ordered general Huger to proceed with the main army.

In this retreat the Americans underwent hardships almost incredible. Many of them performed this march without shoes over frozen ground, which so gashed their naked feet, that their blood marked every step of their progress. They were sometimes without meat, often without flour, and always without spirituous liquors. Their march led them through a barren country, which scarcely afforded necessaries for a few straggling inhabitants. In this severe season, also with very little clothing, they were daily reduced to the necessity of fording deep creeks, and of remaining wet without any change of clothes, till the heat of their bodies, and occasional fires in the woods, dried their tattered rags. To all these difficulties they submitted without the loss of a single sentinel by desertion. Lord Cornwallis reduced the quantity of his own baggage, and the example was followed by the officers under his command. Every thing which was not necessary in action, or to the existence of the troops, was destroyed. No waggons were reserved except those loaded with hospital stores, salt, and ammunition, and four empty ones for the use of the sick. The royal army, encouraged by the example of his lordship, submitted to every hardship with cheerfulness. They beheld, without murmuring, their most valuable baggage destroyed, their spirituous liquors staved, when they were entering on hard service,
and

and under circumstances which precluded every prospect of supply.

The British had urged the pursuit with so much rapidity, that they reached the Catawba on the evening of the same day on which their fleeing adversaries had crossed it. Before the next morning a heavy fall of rain made that river impassable. The Americans, confident of the justice of their cause, considered this event as an interposition of Providence in their favour. It is certain, that if the rising of the river had taken place a few hours sooner, general Morgan, with his whole detachment, and 500 prisoners, would have scarcely had any chance of escape. When the flood had subsided so far as to leave the river fordable, a large proportion of the king's troops received orders to be in readiness to march at one o'clock in the morning of the 1st of February. Feints had been made of passing at several different fords, but the real attempt was made at a ford near M'Cowans, the north banks of which were defended by a small guard of militia, commanded by general Davidson. The British marched through the river, upwards of 500 yards wide, and about three feet deep, sustaining a constant fire from the militia on the opposite bank, without returning it till they had made good their passage. The light-infantry and grenadier companies, as soon as they reached the land, dispersed the Americans, general Davidson, the brave leader of the latter, being killed on the first onset. The militia throughout the neighbouring settlements were dispirited, and but few of them could be persuaded to take or keep the field. A small party which collected about ten miles from the ford, was attacked and dispersed by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. All the fords were abandoned, and the whole royal army crossed over without any farther opposition. The passage of the Catawba being effected, the Americans continued to flee and the British to pursue. The former by expeditious movements crossed the Yadkin, partly in flats, and partly by fording, on the second and third days of February, and secured their boats on the north side. Though the British were close in their rear,
yet

yet the want of boats, and the rapid rising of the river from the preceding rains, made their crossing impossible. This second hair-breadth escape was considered by the Americans as a farther evidence that their cause was favoured by Heaven. That they in two successive instances should effect their passage, while their pursuers, only a few miles in their rear, could not follow, impressed the religious people of that settlement with such sentiments of devotion as added fresh vigour to their exertions in behalf of American independence.

The British having failed in their first scheme of passing the Yadkin, were obliged to cross at the upper fords; but before this was completed, the two divisions of the American army, on the 7th of February, made a junction at Guilford court-house. Though this had taken place, their combined numbers were so much inferior to the British, that general Greene could not with any propriety risque an action. He therefore called a council of officers, who unanimously concurred in opinion that he ought to retire over the Dan, and to avoid an engagement till he was reinforced. Lord Cornwallis, knowing the inferiority of the American force, conceived hopes, by getting between general Greene and Virginia, to cut off his retreat, intercept his supplies and reinforcements, and oblige him to fight under many disadvantages. With this view, his lordship kept the upper country, where only the rivers are fordable—supposing that his adversaries, from the want of a sufficient number of flats, could not make good their passage in the deep water below, or, in case of their attempting it, he expected to overtake and force them to action before they could cross. In this expectation he was deceived. General Greene by good management eluded his lordship. The British urged their pursuit with so much rapidity, that the American light troops were on the 14th compelled to retire upwards of 40 miles. By the most indefatigable exertions, general Greene had that day transported his army, artillery, and baggage, over the river Dan into Virginia. So rapid was the pursuit, and so narrow the escape, than the van of the pursuing British just arrived as the rear of the Americans had crossed.

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The hardships and difficulties which the royal army had undergone in this march, were exceeded by the mortification that all their toils and exertions were to no purpose. They conceived it next to impossible that general Greene could escape without receiving a decisive blow. They therefore cheerfully submitted to difficulties, of which they who reside in cultivated countries can form no adequate ideas. After surmounting incredible hardships, when they fancied themselves within grasp of their object, they discovered that all their hopes were blasted.

The continental army being driven out of North-Carolina, lord Cornwallis thought the opportunity favourable for assembling the loyalists. With this view he left the Dan, and proceeded to Hillsborough. On his arrival there, he erected the king's standard, and published a proclamation, inviting all loyal subjects to repair to it with their arms and ten days provision, and assuring them of his readiness to concur with them in effectual measures for suppressing the remains of rebellion, and for the re-establishment of good order and constitutional government. Soon after the king's standard was erected at Hillsborough, some hundreds of the inhabitants rode into the British camp. They seemed to be very desirous of peace, but averse to any co-operation for procuring it. They acknowledged the continentals were chased out of the province, but expressed their apprehensions that they would soon return, and on the whole declined to take any decided part in a cause which yet appeared dangerous. Notwithstanding the indifference or timidity of the loyalists near Hillsborough, lord Cornwallis hoped for substantial aid from the inhabitants between Haw and Deep River. He therefore detached lieutenant-colonel Tarleton with 450 men, to give countenance to the friends of royal government in that district. Greene being informed that many of the inhabitants had joined his lordship, and that they were repairing in great numbers to make their submission, was apprehensive that unless some spirited measure was immediately taken, the whole country would be lost to the Americans. He therefore concluded, at every hazard, to recross the Dan. This was
done

done by the light troops, and these on the next day were followed by the main body, accompanied with a brigade of Virginia militia. Immediately after the return of the Americans to North-Carolina, some of their light troops, commanded by general Pickens and lieutenant-colonel Lee, were detached in pursuit of Tarleton, who had been sent to encourage the insurrection of the loyalists. Three hundred and fifty of these tories commanded by colonel Pyles, when on their way to join the British, fell in with this light American party, and mistook them for the royal detachment sent for their support. The Americans attacked them, labouring under this mistake, to great advantage, and cut them down as they were crying out, "God save the king," and making protestations of their loyalty. Natives of the British colonies, who were of this character, more rarely found mercy than European soldiers. They were considered by the whig Americans as being cowards, who not only wanted spirit to defend their constitutional rights, but who unnaturally co-operated with strangers in fixing the chains of foreign domination on themselves and countrymen. Many of them on this occasion suffered the extremity of military vengeance. Tarleton was refreshing his legion about a mile from this scene of slaughter. Upon hearing the alarm, he recrossed the Haw and returned to Hillsborough. On his retreat he cut down several of the royalists, as they were advancing to join the British army, mistaking them for the rebel militia of the country. These events, together with the return of the American army, overset all the schemes of lord Cornwallis. The tide of public sentiment was no longer in his favour. The recruiting service in behalf of the royal army was entirely stopped. The absence of the American army, for one fortnight longer, might have turned the scale. The advocates for royal government being discouraged by these adverse accidents, and being also generally deficient in that ardent zeal which characterised the patriots, could not be induced to act with confidence. They were so dispersed over a large extent of a thinly settled country, that it was difficult to bring them to unite in any common plan. They had no superintend-

ing congress to give system or concert to their schemes. While each little district pursued separate measures, all were obliged to submit to the American governments. Numbers of them, who were on their way to join lord Cornwallis, struck with terror at the unexpected return of the American army, and the unhappy fate of their brethren, went home to wait events. Their policy was of that timid kind, which disposed them to be more attentive to personal safety, than to the success of either army.

Though general Greene had recrossed, his plan was not to venture upon an immediate action, but to keep alive the courage of his party, to depress that of the loyalists, and to harass the foragers and detachments of the British till reinforcements should arrive. While Greene was unequal even to defensive operations, he lay seven days within ten miles of Cornwallis's camp, but took a new position every night, and kept it a profound secret where the next was to be. By such frequent movements lord Cornwallis could not gain intelligence of his situation in time to profit by it. He manœuvred in this manner to avoid an action for three weeks, during which time he was often obliged to ask bread from the common soldiers, having none of his own. By the end of that period, two brigades of militia from North-Carolina, and one from Virginia, together with 400 regulars raised for eighteen months, joined his army, and gave him a superiority of numbers: He therefore determined no longer to avoid an engagement. Lord Cornwallis having long sought for this, no longer delay took place on either side. The American army consisted of about 4400 men, of which more than one half were militia: The British of about 2400, chiefly troops grown veteran in victories. The former was drawn up in three lines*; the front composed of North-Carolina militia, the second of Virginia militia, the third and last of continental troops commanded by general Huger and colonel Williams. After a brisk cannonade in front, the British advanced in three columns;

* March 15, 1781.

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the Hessians on the right, the guards in the centre, and lieutenant-colonel Webster's brigade on the left; and attacked the front line. This gave way when their adversaries were at the distance of 140 yards, from the misconduct of a colonel, who, on the advance of the enemy, called out to an officer at some distance "that he would be surrounded." The alarm was sufficient: Without inquiring into the probability of what had been injudiciously suggested, the militia precipitately quitted the field. As one good officer may sometimes mend the face of affairs, so the misconduct of a bad one may injure a whole army. Untrained men when on the field are similar to each other. The difference of their conduct depends much on incidental circumstances, and on none more than the manner of their being led on, and the quality of the officers by whom they are commanded.

The Virginia militia stood their ground, and kept up their fire till they were ordered to retreat. General Stevens, their commander, had posted 40 riflemen at equal distances, twenty paces in the rear of his brigade, with orders to shoot every man who should leave his post. That brave officer, though wounded through the thigh, did not quit the field. The continental troops were last engaged, and maintained the conflict with great spirit for an hour and a half. At length the discipline of veteran troops gained the day. They broke the second Maryland brigade, turned the American left flank, and got in rear of the Virginia brigade. They appeared to be gaining Greene's right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops; a retreat was therefore ordered. This was made in good order, and no farther than over the reedy fork, a distance of about three miles. Greene halted there, and drew up till he had collected most of the stragglers, and then retired to Speedwell's iron-works, ten miles distant from Guildford. The Americans lost four pieces of artillery and two ammunition-waggons. The victory cost the British dear. Their killed and wounded amounted to several hundreds. The guards lost colonel Stuart and three captains, besides subalterns.

subalterns. Colonel Webster, an officer of distinguished merit, died of his wounds, to the great regret of the whole army. Generals O'Hara and Howard, and lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, were wounded. About 300 of the continentals, and 100 of the Virginia militia, were killed or wounded. Among the former was major Anderson, of the Maryland line, a most valuable officer; of the latter were generals Huger and Stevens. The early retreat of the North-Carolinians saved them from much loss. The American army sustained a great diminution, by the numerous fugitives who, instead of rejoining the camp, went to their homes. On the other hand, lord Cornwallis suffered so much, that he was in no condition to improve the advantage he had gained. The British had only the name, the Americans, all the good consequences of a victory. General Greene retreated, and lord Cornwallis kept the field; but notwithstanding, the British interest in North-Carolina was from that day ruined. Soon after this action, (on the 18th of March) lord Cornwallis issued a proclamation setting forth his complete victory, and calling on all loyal subjects to stand forth, and take an active part in restoring order and good government, and offering a pardon and protection to all rebels, murderers excepted, who would surrender themselves on or before the 20th of April. On the next day after this proclamation was issued, his lordship left his hospital and 75 wounded men, with the numerous loyalists, in the vicinity, and began a march towards Wilmington, which had the appearance of a retreat. Major Craig, who for the purposes of co-operating with his lordship, had been stationed at Wilmington, was not able to open a water communication with the British army while they were in the upper country. The distance, the narrowness of Cape Fear River, the commanding elevation of its banks, and the hostile sentiments of the inhabitants on each side of it, forbad the attempt. The destitute condition of the British army made it necessary to go to these supplies, which for these reasons could not be brought to them,

General

General Greene no sooner received information of this movement of lord Cornwallis, than he put his army in motion to follow him. As he had no means of providing for the wounded, of his own, and the British forces, he wrote a letter to the neighbouring inhabitants of the Quaker persuasion, in which he mentioned his being brought up a Quaker, and urged them to take care of the wounded on both sides. His recommendations prevailed, and the Quakers supplied the hospitals with every comfort in their power.

The Americans continued the pursuit of lord Cornwallis till they had arrived * at Ramsay's mill on Deep River, but for good reasons desisted from following him any farther.

Lord Cornwallis halted and refreshed his army for about three weeks at Wilmington, and then marched across the country to Petersburg in Virginia. Before it was known that his lordship had determined on this movement, the bold resolution of returning to South-Carolina was formed by general Greene. This animated the friends of congress in that quarter. Had the American army followed his lordship, the southern states would have considered themselves conquered; for their hopes and fears prevailed just as the armies marched north or south. Though lord Cornwallis marched through North-Carolina to Virginia, yet as the American army returned to South-Carolina, the people considered that movement of his lordship in the light of a retreat.

While the two armies were in North-Carolina, the whig inhabitants of South-Carolina were animated by the gallant exertions of Sumter and Marion. These distinguished partisans, while surrounded with enemies, kept the field. Though the continental army was driven into Virginia, they did not despair of the commonwealth. Having mounted their followers, their motions were rapid, and their attacks unexpected. With their light troops they intercepted the British convoys of provisions, infested their out-posts, beat up their quarters, and

* March 28.

harassed their detachments with such frequent alarms, that they were obliged to be always on their guard. In the western extremity of the state, Sumter was powerfully supported by colonels Niel, Lacey, Hill, Winn, Bratton, Brandon, and others, each of whom held militia commissions, and had many friends. In the north-eastern extremity, Marion received great assistance from the active exertions of colonels Peter Horry and Hugh Horry, lieutenant-colonel John Baxter, colonel James Postell, major John Postell, and major John James.

The inhabitants, either as affection or vicinity induced them, arranged themselves under some of the militia officers, and performed many gallant enterprizes. These singly were of too little consequence to merit a particular relation, but in general they displayed the determined spirit of the people, and embarrassed the British. One in which major John Postell commanded may serve as an illustration of the spirit of the times, and particularly of the indifference for property which then prevailed. Captain James de Peyster of the royal army, with 25 grenadiers, having taken post in the house of the major's father, the major posted his small command of 21 militia-men, in such positions as commanded its door, and demanded its surrender. This being refused, he set fire to an outhouse, and was proceeding to burn that in which they were posted, and nothing but the immediate submission of the whole party restrained him from sacrificing his father's valuable property, to gain an advantage to his country.

While lord Cornwallis was preparing to invade Virginia, general Greene determined to recommence offensive military operations in the southern extreme of the confederacy, in preference to pursuing his lordship into Virginia. General Sumter, who had warmly urged this measure, was about this time authorised to raise a state brigade to be in service for eighteen months. He had also prepared the militia to co-operate with the returning continentals. With these forces an offensive war was recommenced in South-Carolina, and prosecuted with spirit and success.

Before

Before Greene set out on his march for Carolina, he sent orders to general Pickens to prevent supplies from going to the British garrisons at Ninety-six and Augusta, and also detached lieutenant-colonel Lee to advance before the continental troops. The latter in eight days penetrated through the intermediate country to general Marion's quarters upon the Santee. The main army, in a few more days, completed their march from Deep River to Camden. The British had erected a chain of posts from the capital to the extreme districts of the state, which had regular communications with each other. Lord Cornwallis being gone to Virginia, these became objects of enterprise to the Americans. While general Greene was marching with his main force against Camden, Fort Watson, which lay between Camden and Charlestown, was invested by general Marion and lieutenant-colonel Lee. The besiegers speedily erected a work which overlooked the fort, though that was built on an Indian mount upwards of 30 feet high, from which they fired into it with such execution that the besieged durst not show themselves. Under these circumstances the garrison, consisting of 114 men, on the 23d of April surrendered by capitulation.

Camden, before which the main American army was encamped, is a village situated on a plain, covered on the south and east sides by the Wateree and a creek, the western and northern by six redoubts. It was defended by lord Rawdon with about 900 men. The American army, consisting only of about an equal number of continentals, and between two and three hundred militia, was unequal to the task of carrying this post by storm, or of completely investing it. General Greene therefore took a good position about a mile distant, in expectation of alluring the garrison out of their lines. Lord Rawdon armed his whole force, and with great spirit sallied on the 25th. An engagement ensued. Victory for some time evidently inclined to the Americans, but in the progress of the action, the premature retreat of two companies eventually occasioned the defeat of the whole American army. Greene, with his usual firmness, instantly took

took measures to prevent lord Rawdon from improving the success he had obtained. He retreated with such order that most of his wounded and all his artillery, together with a number of prisoners, were carried off. The British retired to Camden, and the Americans encamped about five miles from their former position. Their loss was between two and three hundred. Soon after this action general Greene, knowing that the British garrison could not subsist long in Camden without fresh supplies from Charlestown or the country, took such positions as were most likely to prevent their procuring any.

On the 7th of May, lord Rawdon received a reinforcement of 4 or 500 men by the arrival of colonel Watson from Pedee. With this increase of strength, he attempted on the next day to compel general Greene to another action, but found it to be impracticable. Failing in this design, he returned to Camden, and burned the jail, mills, many private houses, and a great deal of his own baggage. He then evacuated the post, and retired to the southward of Santee. His lordship discovered as much prudence in evacuating Camden, as he had shown bravery in its defence. The fall of Fort Watson broke the chain of communication with Charlestown, and the position of the American army in a great measure intercepted supplies from the adjacent country. The British in South-Carolina, now cut off from all communication with lord Cornwallis, would have hazarded the capital, by keeping large detachments in their distant out-posts: They therefore resolved to contract their limits by retiring within the Santee. This measure animated the friends of congress in the extremities of the state, and disposed them to co-operate with the American army. On the 11th of May, the day after the evacuation of Camden, the post at Orangeburgh, consisting of 70 British militia and 12 regulars, surrendered to general Sumter. On the next day Fort Motte capitulated: This was situated above the fork on the south side of the Congaree. The British had built their works round Mrs. Motte's dwelling-house. She with great cheerfulness furnished the Americans with materials for firing her own house. These being thrown by
them

them on its roof soon kindled into flame. The firing of the house, which was in the centre of the British works, compelled the garrison, consisting of 165 men, to surrender at discretion.

In two days more the British evacuated their post at Nelson's ferry, and destroyed a great part of their stores. On the day following, Fort Granby, garrisoned by 352 men, mostly royal militia, surrendered to lieutenant-colonel Lee: Very advantageous terms were given them, from an apprehension that lord Rawdon was marching to their relief.

The American general Marion with a party of militia marched about this time to George-Town, and began regular approaches against the post in that place. On the first night after his men had broken ground, the British evacuated their works, and retreated to Charlestown; shortly after, one Manson, an inhabitant of South-Carolina, who had joined the British, appeared in an armed vessel, and demanded permission to land his men in the town. This being refused, he sent a few of them ashore, and set fire to it. Upwards of forty houses were speedily reduced to ashes.

In the rapid manner just related, the British lost six posts, and abandoned all the north-eastern extremities of South-Carolina. They still however retained possession of Augusta and Ninety-six, in addition to their posts near the sea-coast. Immediately after the surrender of Fort Granby, lieutenant-colonel Lee began his march for Augusta, and in four days completed it.

On the 21st of May, the British post at Silver Bluff, with a field-piece and considerable stores, surrendered to a detachment of Lee's legion commanded by captain Rudolph. Lee on his arrival at Augusta joined Pickens, who with a body of militia had for some time past taken post in the vicinity. They jointly carried on their approaches against Fort Cornwallis at Augusta, in which colonel Brown commanded. Two batteries were erected within 30 yards of the parapet which overlooked the fort. From these eminences the American riflemen shot into the inside of the works with success: The garrison buried themselves

themselves in a great measure under ground, and obstinately refused to capitulate, till the necessity was so pressing that every man who attempted to fire on the besiegers was immediately shot down. At length *, when farther resistance would have been madness, the fort, with about 300 men, surrendered on honourable terms of capitulation. The Americans during the siege had about forty men killed and wounded.

While operations were carrying on against the small posts, Greene proceeded with his main army, and laid siege to Ninety-six, in which lieutenant-colonel Cruger, with upwards of 500 men, was advantageously posted. On the left of the besiegers was a work, erected in the form of a star; on the right was a strong blockade fort, with two block-houses in it. The town was also picquetted in with strong picquets, and surrounded with a ditch, and a bank, near the height of a common parapet. The besiegers were more numerous than the besieged, but the disparity was not great.

The siege was prosecuted with indefatigable industry. The garrison defended themselves with spirit and address. On the 25th of May, the morning after the siege began, a party sallied from the garrison, and drove the advance of the besiegers from their works. The next night, two strong block batteries were erected at the distance of 350 yards. Another battery 20 feet high, was erected within 220 yards, and soon after a fourth was erected within 100 yards of the main fort, and lastly, a rifle battery was erected 30 feet high, within 30 yards of the ditch; from all of which the besiegers fired into the British works. The abbatiss was turned, and a mine and two trenches were so far extended, as to be within six feet of the ditch. At that interesting moment, intelligence was conveyed into the garrison, that lord Rawdon was near at hand with about 2000 men for their relief. These had arrived in Charlestown from Ireland after the siege began, and were marched for Ninety-six on the seventh day after they landed. In these circumstances, general Greene

* June 5.

had

had no alternative but to raise the siege, or attempt the reduction of the place by assault. The latter was attempted*. Though the assailants displayed great resolution, they failed of success. On this, general Greene raised the siege, and retreated over Saluda. His loss in the assault and previous conflicts was about 150 men. Lieutenant-colonel Cruger deservedly gained great reputation by this successful defence. He was particularly indebted to major Greene, who had bravely and judiciously defended that redoubt, for the reduction of which the greatest exertions had been made. Lord Rawdon, who by rapid marches was near Ninety-six at the time of the assault, pursued the Americans as far as the Enoree river; but without overtaking them. Desisting from this fruitless pursuit he drew off a part of his force from Ninety-six, and fixed a detachment at the Congaree. General Greene, on hearing that the British force was divided, faced about to give them battle. Lord Rawdon, no less surprised than alarmed at this unexpected movement of his lately retreating foe, abandoned the Congaree in two days after he had reached it, and marched to Orangeburgh. General Greene in his turn pursued and offered him battle. His lordship would not venture out, and his adversary was too weak to attack him in his encampment with any prospect of success.

Reasons similar to those which induced the British to evacuate Camden, weighed with them about this time to withdraw their troops from Ninety-six. While the American army lay near Orangeburgh, lieutenant-colonel Cruger, having evacuated the post he had gallantly defended, was marching with the troops of that garrison, through the forks of Edisto, to join lord Rawdon at Orangeburgh. General Greene being unable to prevent their junction, and still less so to stand before their combined force, retired to the high hills of Santee. The evacuation of Camden having been effected by striking at the posts below it, the same manoeuvre was now attempted to induce the British to leave Orangeburgh. With this view

* June 18.

generals Sumter and Marion, with their brigades, and the legion of cavalry, were detached to Monk's Corner and Dorchester. They moved down different roads, and commenced separate and successful attacks, on convoys and detachments in the vicinity of Charlestown. In this manner was the war carried on. While the British kept their forces compact, they could not cover the country, and the American general had the prudence to avoid fighting. When they divided their army, their detachments were attacked and defeated. While they were in the upper country, light parties of Americans annoyed their small posts in the lower settlements. The people soon found that the late conquerors were not able to afford them their promised protection. The spirit of revolt became general, and the royal interest daily declined.

The British having evacuated all their posts to the northward of Santee and Congaree, and to the westward of Edisto, conceived themselves able to hold all that fertile country, which is in a great measure enclosed by these rivers. They therefore once more resumed their station near the junction of the Wateree and Congaree. This induced general Greene to concert farther measures for forcing them down towards Charlestown. He therefore crossed the Wateree and Congaree, and collected his whole force on the south side of the latter, intending to act offensively. On his approach the British retired about 40 miles nearer Charlestown, and took post at the Eutaw springs. General Greene advanced (September 8th, 1781) with 2000 men, to attack them in their encampment at this place. His force was drawn up in two lines: The first was composed of militia, and the second of continental troops. As the Americans advanced they fell in with two parties of the British, three or four miles a-head of their main army. These being briskly attacked soon retired. The militia continued to pursue and fire, till the action became general, and till they were obliged to give way. They were well supported by the continental troops. In the hottest of the action, colonel O. Williams, and lieutenant-colonel Campbel, with the Maryland and Virginia continentals, charged with trailed arms. Victory

tory on this occasion declared in favour of the Americans. The British were vigorously pursued, and upwards of 500 of them were taken prisoners. On their retreat they took post in a strong brick house, and in a picquetted garden: From these advantageous positions they renewed the action. Four six pounders were ordered up before the house, from under cover of which the British were firing. The Americans were compelled to leave these pieces and retire, but they left a strong picquet on the field of battle, and only retreated to the nearest water in their rear. In the evening of the next day, lieutenant-colonel Stuart, who commanded the British on this occasion, left seventy of his wounded men, and a thousand stand of arms, and moved from the Eutaws towards Charlestown. The loss of the British inclusive of prisoners, was upwards of 1100 men; that of the Americans above 500, in which number were sixty officers.

Soon after this engagement, the Americans retired to their former position on the high hills of Santee, and the British took post in the vicinity of Monk's Corner. In the close of the year general Greene moved down into the lower country, and about the same time the British abandoned their out-posts, and retired with their whole force to the quarter-house on Charlestown Neck. The defence of the country was given up, and the conquerors, who had lately carried their arms to the extremities of the state, seldom aimed at any thing more than to secure themselves in the vicinity of the capital. The crops, which had been planted in the spring of the year under British auspices, and with the expectation of affording them supplies, fell into the hands of the Americans, and administered to them a seasonable relief. The battle of Eutaw may be considered as closing the national war in South-Carolina. A few excursions were afterwards made by the British, and some small enterprises were executed, but nothing of more general consequence occurred than the loss of property, and of individual lives.

In narrating the history of wars, the instances of disgraceful atrocities are generally sufficient to disgust a humane mind. What is in itself the greatest of all possible

abuses is naturally productive of lesser evils; but in a civil war all these calamities are increased in an enormous proportion. Then, in the eyes of the vulgar, cruelty is considered as a kind of duty; and so many of the best affections of the heart being necessarily sacrificed, it becomes callous to the rest; while the lively interest which the parties take in the subject of the dispute, adds ardour and ferocity to all the passions. There is even a fascinating power in names. The Americans, from the first of the contest, were denominated rebels; and as soldiers, whatever their rank, are not among the most enlightened of mankind, the ideas that naturally associated with this contemptuous appellation, were gibbets and executions. On most occasions, therefore, the Americans were treated with indiscriminate severity. They were imprisoned in cold waite buildings; their allowance of provision and clothing was exceedingly scanty, and these evils were aggravated by the habitual knavery of the commissaries and agents. In these dreary repositories of misery, numbers died of dysenteries and other complaints; but their situation on board the prison-ships was still more deplorable, and in one of them only, the Jersey, which was stationed off New-York, it is asserted on good evidence, that upwards of eleven thousand persons died in the course of six years. On the other side, the Americans were far from guiltless. Before government was in some measure organised by congress, the executive department was in many instances usurped by self-created committees, and several acts of cruelty were exercised upon the unfortunate loyalists, against whom the resentment of the provincials was principally directed, as traitors and enemies to their country.

It is with infinite regret that we are obliged to record, that this intemperate conduct was, in some instances, imitated by British officers of high rank, and of distinguished character. The severe, and indeed unjustifiable conduct of the British towards the people of South-Carolina, in forcing them to take arms against their country, has been already censured; but as one instance of this severity has attracted much attention, we shall briefly state the facts,

as related by a respectable historian (Dr. Gordon), who solemnly avers his account to be "the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," as far as he was able to inform himself of it.

During the siege of Charlestown, colonel Isaac Hayne served in a corps of militia horse; and after the capitulation, seeing no alternative but to abandon his property and family, or surrender to the conquerors, he went voluntarily within the British lines, and surrendered himself a prisoner of war, hoping to be treated as other prisoners, and granted a parole. His abilities and activity were however too conspicuous, not to have excited a degree of rancour in the conquerors, and he was informed that "he must either become a British subject, or submit to close confinement." At that period his family was exposed to the ravages of the small-pox, of which his lady soon after died; and to leave them exposed in this situation to the depredations and cruelty of the marauding parties of royalists, was distressing in the highest degree. In this state of perplexity he was induced to sign a declaration of allegiance to the king of Great Britain, but with the express proviso, ratified by the solemn assurances of general Patterson, commandant of the garrison, and James Simpson, esq. intendant of police—"that he should not be called upon to support with his arms the royal government." Having submitted to this, he was permitted to return to his family; but he was scarcely settled there, when, in direct violation of what had passed at the time of his subscribing, he was repeatedly called upon to take up arms against his country, and assured that, if he did not, he should be committed to close confinement. This colonel Hayne considered as a dissolution of the compact on the part of the British; and to avoid what he regarded as a crime against his country, he left his family, and again joined the American army. He had the misfortune again to fall into the hands of the British. "At first he was promised a trial, and had counsel prepared to justify his conduct by the laws of nations and the usages of war: But this was finally refused, and he was ordered for execution by lord Rawdon and colonel Balfour." The royal

lieutenant-governor Bull, much to his credit, and immense numbers both of royalists and Americans, made intercession for his life; but lord Rawdon and colonel Balfour continued firm to their determination, and colonel Hayne was hanged on the 4th of August 1781.

It has already been mentioned that lord Cornwallis, soon after the battle of Guildford, marched to Wilmington in North-Carolina. When he had completed that march, various plans of operation were presented to his view. It was said in favour of his proceeding southwardly, that the country between Wilmington and Camden was barren and of difficult passage—that an embarkation for Charlestown would be both tedious and disgraceful, and that a junction with the royal forces in Virginia, and the prosecution of solid operations in that quarter, would be the most effectual plan for effecting and securing the submission of the more southern states. Other arguments of apparently equal force urged his return to South-Carolina. Previous to his departure for Virginia, he had received information that general Greene had begun his march for Camden, and he had reason from past experience to fear that if he did not follow him, the inhabitants, by a second revolt, would give the American army a superiority over the small force left under lord Rawdon. Though his lordship was very apprehensive of danger from that quarter, he hoped either that lord Rawdon would be able to stand his ground, or that general Greene would follow the royal army to Virginia; or in the most unfavourable event he flattered himself, that by the conquest of Virginia, the recovery of South-Carolina would be at any time practicable. His lordship having too much spirit to turn back, and preferring the extensive scale of operations which Virginia presented, to the narrow one of preserving past conquests, determined to leave Carolina to its fate. Before the end of April, he therefore proceeded on his march from Wilmington towards Virginia. To favour the passage of the many rivers, with which the country is intersected, two boats were mounted on carriages and taken along with his army. The king's troops proceeded several days without opposition,

opposition, and almost without intelligence. The Americans made an attempt at Swift Creek and afterwards at Fishing Creek to stop their progress, but without any effect. The British took the shortest road to Halifax, and on their arrival there defeated several parties of the Americans and took some stores, with very little loss on their side. The Roanoke, the Meherrin, and the Nottaway rivers were successfully crossed by the royal army, and with little or no opposition from the dispersed inhabitants. In less than a month the march from Wilmington to Petersburg was completed. The latter had been fixed upon as the place of rendezvous, in a private correspondence with general Philips. By this combination of the royal force previously employed in Virginia, with the troops which had marched from Wilmington, lord Cornwallis was at the head of a very powerful army. This junction was scarcely completed, when lord Cornwallis received lord Rawdon's report of the advantage he had gained over general Greene, on the 25th of the preceding month. About the same time he received information that three British regiments had sailed from Cork for Charlestown.

These two events eased his mind of all anxiety for South-Carolina, and inspired him with brilliant hopes of a glorious campaign. He considered himself as having already subdued both the Carolinas, and as being in a fair way to increase his military fame, by the addition of Virginia to the list of his conquests. By the late combination of the royal forces under Philips and Cornwallis, and by the recent arrival of a reinforcement of 1500 men directly from New-York, Virginia became the principal theatre of operations for the remainder of the campaign. The formidable force, thus collected in one body, called for vigorous exertions. The defensive operations, in opposition to it, were principally entrusted to the marquis de la Fayette. Early in the year he had been detached from the main American army on an expedition, the object of which was a co-operation with the French fleet in capturing general Arnold. On the failure of this, the marquis marched back as far as the head of Elk. There

he received an order to return to Virginia to oppose the British forces, which had become more formidable by the arrival of a considerable reinforcement, under general Philips. He proceeded without delay to Richmond, and arrived there the day before the British reached Manchester, on the opposite side of James River. Thus was the capital of Virginia, at that time filled with almost all the military stores of the state, saved from imminent danger. So great was the superiority of numbers on the side of the British, that the marquis had before him a labour of the greatest difficulty, and was pressed with many embarrassments. In the first moments of the rising tempest, and till he could provide against its utmost rage, he began to retire with his little army, which consisted only of about 1000 regulars, 2000 militia, and 60 dragoons.

Lord Cornwallis advanced from Petersburg to James River, which he crossed at Westown, and thence marching through Hanover county, crossed the South Anna, or Pamunkey river. The marquis followed his motions, but at a guarded distance. The superiority of the British army, especially of their cavalry, which they easily supplied with good horses from the stables and pastures of private gentlemen in Virginia, enabled him to traverse the country in all directions. Two distant expeditions were therefore undertaken. The one was to Charlotteville, with the view of capturing the governor and assembly of the state; the other to Point of Fork, to destroy stores. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, to whom the first was committed, succeeded so far as to disperse the assembly, capture seven of its members, and to destroy a great quantity of stores at and near Charlotteville. The other expedition, which was committed to lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, was only in part successful, for the Americans had previously removed most of their stores from Point of Fork. In the course of these marches and counter-marches, immense quantities of property were destroyed, and some unimportant skirmishes took place. The British made many partial conquests, but these were seldom of longer duration than their encampments. The

The young marquis, with a degree of prudence that would have done honour to an old soldier, acted so cautiously on the defensive, and made so judicious a choice of posts, and showed so much vigour and design in his movements, as to prevent any advantage being taken of his weakness. In his circumstances, not to be destroyed was triumph. He effected a junction at Racoon Ford with general Wayne, who was at the head of 800 Pennsylvanians. While this junction was forming, the British got between the American army and its stores, which had been removed from Richmond to Albemarle old court-house. The possession of these was an object with both armies. The marquis, by forced marches, got within a few miles of the British army, when they were two days march from Albemarle old court-house. The British general considered himself as sure of his adversary, for he knew that the stores were his object; and he conceived it impracticable for the marquis to get between him and the stores; but by a road, in passing which he might be attacked to advantage. The marquis had the address to extricate himself from this difficulty, by opening in the night a nearer road to Albemarle old court-house, which had been long disused and was much embarrassed. To the surprise of lord Cornwallis, the marquis fixed himself the next day (June 18) between the British army and the American stores. Lord Cornwallis finding his schemes frustrated, fell back to Richmond. About this time the marquis's army was reinforced by Steuben's troops, and by militia from the parts adjacent. He followed lord Cornwallis, and had the address to impress him with an idea that the American army was much greater than it really was. His lordship therefore on the 26th retreated to Williamsburgh. The day after the main body of the British army arrived there, their rear was attacked by an American light corps under colonel Butler, and sustained a considerable loss.

About the time lord Cornwallis reached Williamsburgh, he received intelligence from New-York, setting forth the danger to which the royal army in that city was exposed from a combined attack, that was said to be threatened

ened by the French and Americans. Sir Henry Clinton therefore required a detachment from earl Cornwallis, if he was not engaged in any important enterprise, and recommended to him a healthy station, with an ample defensive force, till the danger of New-York was dispersed. Lord Cornwallis thinking it expedient to comply with this requisition, and judging that his command afterwards would not be adequate to maintain his present position at Williamsburgh, determined to retire to Portsmouth. For the execution of this project, it was necessary to cross James River. The marquis de la Fayette, conceiving this to be a favourable opportunity for acting offensively, advanced on the British. General Wayne, relying on the information of a countryman, that the main body of the British had crossed James River, pushed forwards with about 800 light troops to harass their rear. Contrary to his expectations, he found the whole British army drawn up ready to oppose him. He instantly * conceived that the best mode of extricating himself from his perilous situation would be, to assume a bold countenance, and engage his adversaries before he attempted to retreat. He therefore pressed on for some time, and urged an attack with spirit before he fell back. Lord Cornwallis, perhaps suspecting an ambuscade, did not pursue. By this bold manœuvre Wayne got off with little loss.

In the course of these various movements, the British were joined by few of the inhabitants, and scarcely by any of the natives. The Virginians for the most part either joined the Americans, or, what was much more common, kept out of the way of the British. To purchase safety by submission was the policy of very few, and these were for the most part natives of Britain. After earl Cornwallis had crossed James River, he marched for Portsmouth. He had previously taken the necessary steps for complying with the requisition of sir Henry Clinton to send a part of his command to New-York. But before they sailed, an express arrived from sir Henry Clinton with a letter, expressing his preference of Williamsburgh

* July 6.

to Portsmouth for the residence of the army, and his desire that Old Point Comfort, or Hampton road, should be secured as a station for the line-of-battle ships. The commander in chief at the same time allowed his lordship to detain any part or the whole of the forces under his command, for completing the service. On examination, Hampton road was not approved of as a station for the navy. It being a principal object of the campaign to fix on a strong permanent post or place of arms in the Chesapeake, for the security of both the army and navy, and Portsmouth and Hampton road having both been pronounced unfit for that purpose, York-Town and Gloucester Points were considered as most likely to accord with the views of the royal commanders. Portsmouth was therefore evacuated, and its garrison transferred to York-Town. Lord Cornwallis availed himself of sir Henry Clinton's permission to retain the whole force under his command, and impressed with the necessity of establishing a strong place of arms in the Chesapeake, applied himself with industry to fortify his new posts, so as to render them tenable by his present army, amounting to 7000 men, against any force that he supposed likely to be brought against them.

At this period the officers of the British navy expected that their fleet in the West Indies would join them, and that solid operations in Virginia would in a short time recommence with increasing vigour.

While they were indulging these hopes, count de Grasse, with a French fleet of 28 sail of the line from the West Indies, on the 30th of August entered the Chesapeake, and about the same time intelligence arrived, that the French and American armies which had been lately stationed in the more northern states, were advancing towards Virginia. Count de Grasse, without loss of time, blocked up York River with three large ships and some frigates, and moored the principal part of the fleet in Lynhaven bay. Three thousand two hundred French troops, brought in this fleet from the West Indies, commanded by the marquis de St. Simon, were disembarked, and soon after formed a junction with the continental troops under

under the marquis de la Fayette, and the whole took post at Williamsburgh. An attack on this force was intended, but before all the arrangements subservient to its execution were fixed upon, letters of an early date in September were received by lord Cornwallis from sir Henry Clinton, announcing that he would do his utmost to reinforce the royal army in Chesapeak, or make every diversion in his power, and that admiral Digby was hourly expected on the coast. On the receipt of this intelligence, earl Cornwallis, not thinking himself justified in hazarding an engagement, abandoned the resolution of attacking the combined force of Fayette and St. Simon. It is the province of history to relate what has happened, and not to indulge conjectures in the boundless field of contingencies; otherwise it might be added, that earl Cornwallis, by this change of opinion, lost a favourable opportunity of extricating himself from a combination of hostile force, which by farther concentration soon became irresistible. On the other hand, if an attack had been made, and that had proved unsuccessful, he would have been charged with rashness in not waiting for the promised co-operation. On the same uncertain ground of conjecturing what ought to have been done, it might be said that the knowledge earl Cornwallis had of public affairs, would have justified him in abandoning York-Town, in order to return to South-Carolina. It seems as though this would have been his wisest plan; but either from an opinion that his instructions to stand his ground were positive, or that effectual relief was probable, his lordship thought proper to risque every thing on the issue of a siege. An attempt was made to burn or dislodge the French ships in the river, but none to evacuate his posts at this early period, when that measure was practicable.

Admiral Graves, with 20 sail of the line, made an effort for the relief of lord Cornwallis, but without effecting his purpose. When he appeared off the Capes of Virginia, M. de Grasse went out to meet him, and an indecisive engagement took place on the 7th of September. The British were willing to renew the action, but M. de Grasse

Grasse for good reasons declined it. His chief object in coming out of the Capes was to cover a French fleet of eight line-of-battle ships, which was expected from Rhode Island. In conformity to a preconcerted plan, count de Barras, commander of this fleet, had sailed for the Chesapeake, about the time de Grasse sailed from the West Indies for the same place. To avoid the British fleet, he had taken a circuit by Bermuda. For fear that the British fleet might intercept him on his approach to the Capes of Virginia, de Grasse came out to be at hand for his protection. While Graves and de Grasse were manœuvring near the mouth of the Chesapeake, count de Barras passed the former in the night, and got within the Capes of Virginia. This gave the fleet of his most christian majesty a decided superiority. Admiral Graves soon took his departure, and M. de Grasse re-entered the Chesapeake. All this time, conformably to the well-digested plan of the campaign, the French and the American forces were marching through the middle states on their way to York-Town. To understand in their proper connexion, the great events shortly to be described, it is necessary to go back and trace the remote causes which brought on this grand combination of fleets and armies which put a period to the war.

The fall of Charlestown in May 1780, and the complete rout of the American southern army in August following, together with the increasing inability of the Americans to carry on the war, gave a serious alarm to the friends of independence. In this low ebb of their affairs, a pathetic statement of their distresses was made to their ally the king of France. To give greater efficacy to their solicitations, congress appointed lieutenant-colonel John Laurens their special minister, and directed him, after repairing to the court of Versailles, to urge the necessity of speedy and effectual succour, and in particular to solicit for a loan of money, and the co-operation of a French fleet, in attempting some important enterprise against the common enemy. His great abilities as an officer had been often displayed; but on this occasion, the superior talents of the statesman and negotiator were called

called forth into action. Animated as he was with the ardour of the warmest patriotism, and feeling most sensibly for the distresses of his country, his whole soul was exerted to interest the court of France in giving a vigorous aid to their allies. At this crisis his most christian majesty gave his American allies a subsidy of six millions of livres, and became their security for ten millions more, borrowed for their use in the United Netherlands. A naval co-operation was promised, and a conjunct expedition against their common foe was projected.

The American war was now so far involved in the consequences of naval operations, that a superior French fleet seemed to be the only hinge on which it was likely soon to take a favourable turn. The British army being parcelled in the different sea-ports of the United States, any division of it blocked up by a French fleet, could not long resist the superior combined force which might be brought to operate against it. The marquis de Castries, who directed the marine of France, with great precision calculated the naval force which the British could concentrate on the coast of the United States, and disposed his own in such a manner as ensured him a superiority. In conformity to these principles, and in subserviency to the design of the campaign, M. de Grasse sailed in March 1781 from Brest, with 25 sail of the line, several thousand land forces, and a large convoy, amounting to more than 200 ships. A small part of this force was destined for the East Indies, but M. de Grasse with the greater part sailed for Martinique. The British fleet then in the West Indies had been previously weakened by the departure of a squadron for the protection of the ships which were employed in carrying to England the booty which had been taken at St. Eustatius. The British admirals Hood and Drake were detached to intercept the outward-bound French fleet commanded by M. de Grasse; but a junction between his force and eight ships of the line, and one of 50 guns, which were previously at Martinique and St. Domingo, was nevertheless effected. By this combination of fresh ships from Europe, with the
French

French fleet previously in the West Indies, they had a decided superiority. M. de Grasse having finished his business in the West Indies, sailed in the beginning of August with a prodigious convoy. After seeing this out of danger, he directed his course for the Chesapeak, and arrived there, as has been related, on the thirteenth of the same month. Five days before his arrival in the Chesapeak, the French fleet in Rhode Island sailed for the same place. These fleets, notwithstanding their original distance from the scene of action, and from each other, coincided in their operations in an extraordinary manner, far beyond the reach of military calculation. They all tended to one object and at one and the same time, and that object was neither known nor suspected by the weak and ill-informed British ministry, till the proper season for counteraction was elapsed. The plan of operations had been so well digested, and was so faithfully executed by the different commanders, that general Washington and count Rochambeau had passed the British headquarters in New-York, and were considerably advanced in their way to York-Town before count de Grasse had reached the American coast. This was effected in the following manner: Mons. de Barras, appointed to the command of the French squadron at Newport, on the 6th of May arrived at Boston with despatches for count de Rochambeau. An interview soon after took place at Weathersfield, between general Washington, Knox, and Du Portail, on the part of the Americans, and count de Rochambeau, and the chevalier Chastelleux, on the part of the French. At this interview, an eventual plan of the whole campaign was fixed. This was to lay siege to New-York in concert with a French fleet, which was to arrive on the coast in the month of August. It was agreed that the French troops should march towards the North River. Letters were addressed by general Washington to the executive officers of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New-Jersey, requiring them to fill up their battalions, and to have their quotas 6200 militia in readiness, within a week of the time they might be called for. Conformably to these outlines of the

campaign, the French troops marched from Rhode Island in June, and early in the following month joined the American army. About the time this junction took place, general Washington marched his army from their winter encampment near Peek's Kill, to the vicinity of Kingsbridge. General Lincoln fell down the North River with a detachment in boats, and took possession of the ground where Fort Independence formerly stood. An attack was made upon him, but was soon discontinued. The British about this time retired with almost the whole of their force to New-York Island. General Washington hoped to be able to commence operations against New-York, about the middle, or at farthest the latter end of July. Flat-bottomed boats sufficient to transport 5000 men were built near Albany, and brought down Hudson's River to the neighbourhood of the American army before New-York. Ovens were erected opposite to Staten Island, for the use of the French troops. Every movement was made which was introductory to the commencement of the siege. It was not a little mortifying to general Washington, to find himself on the 2d of August to be only a few hundreds stronger than he was on the day his army first moved from their winter-quarters. To have fixed on a plan of operations, with a foreign officer at the head of a respectable force; to have brought that force from a considerable distance, in confident expectation of reinforcements sufficiently large to commence effective operations against the common enemy, and at the same time to have engagements in behalf of the states violated in direct opposition to their own interest, and in a manner derogatory to his personal honour, was enough to have excited storms and tempests in any mind less calm than that of general Washington. He bore this hard trial with his usual magnanimity, and contented himself with repeating his requisitions to the states, and at the same time urged them by every tie, to enable him to fulfil engagements entered into on their account, with the commander of the French troops.

That tardiness of the states, which at other times had brought them near the brink of ruin, was now the accidental

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dental cause of real service. Had they sent forward their recruits for the regular army, and their quotas of militia, as was expected, the siege of New-York would have commenced in the latter end of July, or early in August. While the season was wasting away in expectation of these reinforcements, lord Cornwallis, as has been mentioned, fixed himself near the Capes of Virginia. His situation there, the arrival of a reinforcement of 3000 Germans from Europe at New-York, the superior strength of that garrison, the failure of the states in filling up their battalions, and embodying their militia, and especially recent intelligence from count de Grasse, that his destination was fixed to the Chesapeake, concurred, about the middle of August, to make a total change in the plan of the campaign.

The appearance of an intention to attack New-York was nevertheless kept up. While this deception continued, the allied army on the 24th of that month crossed the North River, and passed on the way of Philadelphia to York-Town. An attempt to reduce the British forces in Virginia, promised success with more expedition, and to secure an object of nearly equal importance with the reduction of New-York. No one can undertake to say what would have been the consequence, if the allied forces had persevered in their original plan; but it is evident from the event, that no success could have been greater, or more conducive to the establishment of their schemes, than what resulted from their operations in Virginia.

While the attack of New-York was in serious contemplation, a letter from general Washington detailing the particulars of the intended operations of the campaign being intercepted, it fell into the hands of sir Henry Clinton. After the plan was changed, the royal commander was so much under the impression of the intelligence contained in the intercepted letter, that he believed every movement towards Virginia to be a feint calculated to draw off his attention from the defence of New-York. Under the influence of this opinion he bent his whole force to strengthen that post, and suffered the French and

American armies to pass him without any molestation. When the best opportunity of striking at them was elapsed, then for the first time he was brought to believe that the allies had fixed on Virginia for the theatre of their combined operations. As truth may be made to answer the purposes of deception, so no feint of attacking New-York could have been more successful than the real intention.

In the latter end of August, the American army began their march to Virginia, from the neighbourhood of New-York. General Washington had advanced as far as Chester, before he received the news of the arrival of the fleet commanded by monsieur de Grasse. The French troops marched at the same time, and for the same place. In the course of this summer they passed through all the extensive settlements which lie between Newport and York-Town. It seldom, if ever, happened before, that an army led through a foreign country, at so great a distance from their own, among a people of different principles, customs, language, and religion, behaved with so much regularity. In their march to York-Town they had to pass through 500 miles of a country abounding in fruit, and at a time when the most delicious productions of nature, growing on and near the public highways, presented both opportunity and temptation to gratify their appetites. Yet so complete was their discipline, that in this long march, scarce an instance could be produced of a peach or an apple being taken, without the consent of the inhabitants. General Washington and count Rochambeau reached Williamsburgh on the 14th of September. They with generals Chastelleux, Du Portail, and Knox, proceeded to visit count de Grasse on board his ship the *Ville de Paris*, and agreed on a plan of operations.

The count afterwards wrote to Washington, that in case a British fleet appeared, "he conceived that he ought to go out and meet them at sea, instead of risking an engagement in a confined situation." This alarmed the general. He sent the marquis de la Fayette with a letter to dissuade him from the dangerous measure. This letter

letter and the persuasions of the marquis had the desired effect.

The combined forces proceeded on their way to York-Town, partly by land, and partly down the Chesapeak. The whole, together with a body of Virginia militia, under the command of general Nelson, amounting in the aggregate to 12,000 men, rendezvoused at Williamsburgh on the 25th of September, and in five days after, moved down to the investiture of York-Town. The French fleet at the same time moved to the mouth of York river, and took a position which was calculated to prevent lord Cornwallis either from retreating or receiving succour by water. Previously to the march from Williamsburgh to York-Town, Washington gave out in general orders as follows: "If the enemy should be tempted to meet the army on its march, the general particularly enjoins the troops to place their principal reliance on the bayonet, that they may prove the vanity of the boast, which the British make of their peculiar prowess in deciding battles with that weapon."

The combined army halted in the evening, about two miles from York-Town, and lay on their arms all night. About this time lord Cornwallis received a letter from sir Henry Clinton, announcing the arrival of admiral Digby with three ships of the line from Europe, and the determination of the general and flag officers in New-York to embark 5000 men in a fleet, which would probably sail on the 5th of October; that this fleet consisted of 23 sail of the line, and that joint exertions of the navy and army would be made for his relief. On the night after the receipt of this intelligence, lord Cornwallis quitted his outward position, and retired to one more inward.

The works erected for the security of York-Town on the right, were redoubts and batteries, with a line of stockade in the rear. A marshy ravine lay in front of the right, over which was placed a large redoubt. The morass extended along the centre, which was defended by a line of stockade, and by batteries: On the left of the centre was a hornwork with a ditch, a row of fraize and an

abbatis. Two redoubts were advanced before the left. The combined forces advanced and took possession of the ground from which the British had retired. About this time the legion cavalry and mounted infantry passed over the river to Gloucester; general de Choisy invested the British post on that side so fully, as to cut off all communication between it and the country. In the mean time the royal army was straining every nerve to strengthen their works, and their artillery was constantly employed in impeding the operations of the combined army. On the 9th and 10th of October, the French and Americans opened their batteries: They kept up a brisk and well-directed fire from heavy cannon, from mortars, and howitzers. The shells of the besiegers reached the ships in the harbour, and the Charon of 44 guns and a transport ship were burned. On the 10th a messenger arrived with a despatch from sir Henry Clinton to lord Cornwallis, dated on the 30th of September, which stated various circumstances tending to lessen the probability of relief being obtained, by a direct movement from New-York. Lord Cornwallis was at this juncture advised to evacuate York-Town, and after passing over to Gloucester, to force his way into the country. Whether this movement would have been successful, no one can with certainty pronounce; but it could not have produced any consequences more injurious to the royal interest than those which resulted from declining the attempt. On the other hand, had this movement been made, and the royal army been defeated or captured in the interior country, and in the mean time had sir Henry Clinton, with the promised relief, reached York-Town, the precipitancy of the noble lord would have been perhaps more the subject of censure, than his resolution of standing his ground and resisting to the last extremity. On the 11th of October the besiegers commenced their second parallel 200 yards from the works of the beleagued. Two redoubts which were advanced on the left of the British, greatly impeded the progress of the combined armies; it was herefore proposed to carry them by storm. To excite a spirit of emulation, the reduction of the one was committed

mitted to the French, of the other to the Americans, and both marched to the assault with unloaded arms. The Americans having passed the abbatis and palisades, they attacked on all sides, and carried the redoubt in a few minutes with the loss of 8 killed and 28 wounded. Lieutenant-colonel Laurens personally took the commanding officer prisoner. About five of the British were killed, and the rest were captured. Colonel Hamilton, who conducted the enterprise, in his report to the marquis de la Fayette mentioned to the honour of his detachment, "That, incapable of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocations, they spared every man who ceased to resist."

The French were equally successful on their part. They carried the redoubt assigned to them with rapidity, but lost a considerable number of men. These two redoubts were included in the second parallel, and facilitated the subsequent operations of the besiegers. The British could not with propriety risque repeated sallies. One was projected at this time* consisting of 400 men, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie. He proceeded so far as to force two redoubts, and to spike eleven pieces of cannon. Though the officers and soldiers displayed great bravery in this enterprise, yet their success produced no essential advantage. The cannon were soon unspiked and rendered fit for service.

By this time the batteries of the besiegers were covered with nearly a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, and the works of the besieged were so damaged, that they could scarcely show a single gun. Lord Cornwallis had now no hope left but from offering terms of capitulation or attempting an escape. He determined on the latter. This, though less practicable than when first proposed, was not altogether hopeless. Boats were prepared to receive the troops in the night, and to transport them to Gloucester Point. After one whole embarkation had crossed, a violent storm of wind and rain dispersed the boats employed on this business, and frustrated the whole

* October 16.

scheme. The royal army, thus weakened by division, was exposed to increased danger.

Orders were sent to those who had passed, to re-cross the river to York-Town. With the failure of this scheme the last hope of the British army expired. Longer resistance could answer no good purpose, and might occasion the loss of many valuable lives. Lord Cornwallis therefore wrote a letter to general Washington, requesting a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours, and that commissioners might be appointed to digest terms of capitulation. It is remarkable while lieutenant-colonel Laurens, the officer employed by general Washington, on this occasion, was drawing up these articles, that his father was closely confined in the Tower of London, of which lord Cornwallis was constable. By this singular combination of circumstances, his lordship became a prisoner to the son of his own prisoner.

On the 19th of October the posts of York and Gloucester were surrendered by a capitulation, the principal articles of which were as follows: The troops to be prisoners of war to congress, and the naval force to France. The officers to retain their side-arms and private property of every kind; but all property, obviously belonging to the inhabitants of the United States, to be subject to be reclaimed. The soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, and to be supplied with the same rations as were allowed to soldiers in the service of congress. A proportion of the officers to march into the country with the prisoners; the rest to be allowed to proceed on parole to Europe, to New-York, or to any other American maritime post in possession of the British. The honour of marching out with colours flying, which had been refused to general Lincoln on his giving up Charlestown, was now refused to lord Cornwallis; and general Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army at York-Town, precisely in the same way his own had been conducted about eighteen months before. Lord Cornwallis endeavoured to obtain permission for the British and German troops to return to their respective countries, under no other restrictions than

than an engagement not to serve against France or America. He also tried to obtain an indemnity for those of the inhabitants who had joined him; but he was obliged to recede from the former, and also to consent that the loyalists in his camp should be given up to the unconditional mercy of their countrymen. His lordship nevertheless obtained permission for the Bonetta sloop of war to pass unexamined to New-York. This gave an opportunity of screening such of them as were most obnoxious to the Americans.

The regular troops of France and America, employed in this siege, consisted of about 7000 of the former, and 5500 of the latter; and they were assisted by about 4000 militia. On the part of the combined army about 300 were killed or wounded: On the part of the British about 500, and 70 were taken in the redoubts, which were carried by assault on the 14th of October. The troops of every kind that surrendered prisoners of war exceeded 7000 men; but so great was the number of sick and wounded, that there were only 3000 capable of bearing arms. The French and American engineers and artillery merited and received the highest applause. Brigadiers-general Du Portail and Knox were both promoted to the rank of major-generals on account of their meritorious services. Lieutenant-colonel Gouvion and captain Rochefontaine of the corps of engineers, respectively received brevets, the former to the rank of a colonel, and the latter to the rank of a major.

A British fleet and an army of 7000 men, destined for the relief of lord Cornwallis, arrived off the Chesapeake on the 24th of October; but on receiving advice of his lordship's surrender, they returned to Sandy Hook and New-York. Such was the fate of that general, from whose gallantry and previous successes the speedy conquest of the southern States had been so confidently expected. No event during the war promised fairer for oversetting the independence of at least a part of the confederacy, than his complete victory at Camden; but by the consequences of that action, his lordship became the occasion of rendering that a revolution, which from his previous

vious success was in danger of terminating as a rebellion. The loss of his army may be considered as the closing scene of the continental war in North America.

The troops under the command of lord Cornwallis had spread waste and ruin over the face of all the country for 400 miles on the sea-coast, and for 200 miles to the westward. Their marches from Charlestown to Camden, from Camden to the river Dan, from the Dan through North-Carolina to Wilmington, from Wilmington to Petersburg, and from Petersburg through many parts of Virginia, till they finally settled in York-Town, made a route of more than 1100 miles. Every place through which they passed in these various marches, experienced the effects of their rapacity. Their numbers enabled them to go whithersoever they pleased; their rage for plunder disposed them to take whatever they had the means of removing, and their animosity to the Americans led them often to the wanton destruction of what they could neither use nor carry off. By their means thousands had been involved in distress. The reduction of such an army occasioned unusual transports of joy in the breasts of the whole body of the people. Well-authenticated testimony asserts that the nerves of some were so agitated, as to produce convulsions, and that at least one man expired under the tide of pleasure which flowed in upon him, when informed of his lordship's surrender*. The people throughout the United States displayed a social triumph and exultation, which no private prosperity is ever able fully to inspire. General Washington, on the day after the surrender, ordered "That those who were under arrest should be pardoned and set at liberty." His orders closed as follows: "Divine service shall be performed to-morrow in the different brigades and divisions. The commander in chief recommends, that all the troops that are not upon duty

* The door-keeper of congress, an aged man, died suddenly immediately after hearing of the capture of lord Cornwallis's army. This death was universally ascribed to a violent emotion of political joy.

assist at it with a serious deportment, and that sensibility of heart, which the recollection of the surprising and particular interposition of Providence in our favour claims." Congress, on receiving the official account of the great events which had taken place at York-Town, resolved to go in procession to church and return public thanks to Almighty God for the advantages they had gained; they also issued a proclamation for "religiously observing through the United States the 13th of December as a day of thanksgiving and prayer." The singularly interesting event of capturing a second royal army produced strong emotions, which broke out in all the variety of ways with which the most rapturous joy usually displays itself.

While the combined armies were advancing to the siege of York-Town, an excursion was made from New-York, which was attended with no small loss to the Americans. General Arnold, who had lately returned from Virginia, was appointed to conduct an expedition, the object of which was the town of New-London in his native country. The troops employed there were landed on the 6th of September, in two detachments on each side of the harbour. The one was commanded by lieutenant-colonel Eyre, and the other by general Arnold. The latter met with little opposition; Fort Trumbull, and a redoubt which was intended to cover the harbour, not being tenable were evacuated, and the men crossed the river to Fort Griswold on Groton Hill. This was furiously attacked by lieutenant-colonel Eyre: The garrison defended themselves with great resolution, but after a severe conflict of forty minutes, the fort was carried by the assailants. The Americans had not more than 6 or 7 men killed, when the British carried their lines, but a severe execution took place afterwards though resistance had ceased. An officer of the conquering troops inquired on his entering the fort who commanded, colonel Ledyard answered, "I did, but you do now;" and presented him his sword. The colonel was immediately run through the body and killed. Between 30 and 40 were wounded, and about 40 were carried off prisoners. On the

the side of the British 48 were killed, and 145 wounded; among the latter was major Montgomery, and among the former was colonel Eyre. About 15 vessels loaded with the effects of the inhabitants retreated up the river, and four others remained in the harbour unhurt, but all excepting these were burned by the communication of fire from the burning stores. Sixty dwelling houses and 84 stores were reduced to ashes, and the loss which the Americans sustained by the destruction of naval stores, of provisions, and merchandise, was immense. General Arnold having completed the object of the expedition, returned in eight days to New-York. The Americans lost many valuable men, and much of their possessions, by this incursion, but the cause for which they contended was uninjured. Expeditions which seemed to have no higher object than the destruction of property alienated their affections still farther from the British government. They were not so extensive as to answer the ends of conquest, and the momentary impression resulting from them produced no lasting intimidation. On the other hand, they excited a spirit of revenge against the authors of such accumulated distresses.

In the beginning of the campaign a squadron of ships, under the command of commodore Johnstone, was sent against the Cape of Good Hope; the court of France however not being unapprised of its destination, despatched a fleet of superior force from Brest, under the command of M. de Suffrein, to counteract the design of the British commodore. The French overtook the English squadron at the Cape de Verd Islands, on the 16th of April, and though the latter was at anchor in a neutral port (Port Praya, in the island of St. Jago), and consequently under the protection of the Portuguese flag, proceeded to attack it. The British squadron was thrown into some confusion on the first attack, and the conduct of the commodore has not escaped censure on this occasion. The native valour of the British seamen, however, soon displayed itself, and the outward-bound India ships which came under convoy of the commodore, taking an active part in the engagement, the French were beaten off,

off, but not without the loss of 77 men killed and wounded on the part of the English. The object of the expedition was by this rencounter completely defeated.

Early in the spring a fleet of twenty sail of the line, and a fifty-four gun ship, sailed from Brest, under the command of M. de Grasse; and as the French had already eight sail of the line and a fifty-gun ship at Martinique and St. Domingo, it was generally supposed they would have a decided superiority in the West Indies. The British fleet was weakened by the admiral's sending a squadron under the command of commodore Hotham, with the convoy which conveyed the Eustatia treasure to England, which reduced his fleet to twenty-one sail of the line. As it was therefore of the utmost importance to intercept the squadron of De Grasse, admiral Rodney detached the admirals Hood and Drake, with seventeen sail for that purpose, while he remained himself at St. Eustatia, with a few ships for its protection.

On the 29th of April the French fleet appeared in sight of the British admiral Hood as he lay in the channel of St. Lucia. The French convoy got safe into the harbour of Fort Royal in Martinique, and four ships of the line, and a fifty-gun ship out of the same harbour, were enabled to join the French fleet. The enemy, notwithstanding this superiority, appeared desirous of avoiding a general engagement, and after many ineffectual endeavours on the part of the English to gain the wind, so as to force the French admiral to a decisive action, both fleets ceased firing, and each claimed the victory. To the French indeed it was almost productive of equal consequences; for though they lost the greatest number of men in the action, five of the English ships were so disabled as to be rendered unfit for immediate service. Thus the superiority of the enemy in those seas was decided and irresistible. M. de Grasse, on the following day, was desirous of bringing the contest to that conclusive point which before he had evaded; but sir Samuel Hood disappointed him by his masterly movements, by which the English fleet arrived safe at Antigua after being pursued by the French.

On the 26th of May, admiral Rodney received intelligence from governor Ferguson that the French fleet had appeared off the island of Tobago on the 23d; upon which admiral Drake was despatched with six sail of the line and some land forces to its relief. Upon reaching the island on the morning of the 30th, admiral Drake discovered the enemy's fleet, of twenty sail, between him and the land; he was therefore obliged to retreat. When admiral Rodney on the 4th of June arrived off the island, with twenty sail of the line, he found it in possession of the enemy; the next day he saw the French fleet of twenty-four sail of the line, with which he did not think it prudent to engage on account of their superiority; he therefore returned to Barbadoes.

It may be necessary to remark in this place the ill fate which attended the booty seized by the plunderers of St. Eustatia. The homeward-bound convoy, which conveyed a great part of the property, was almost entirely captured by the French in the Channel, on the 2d of May; and the island itself was taken on the 26th of November following, by four ships of the line, and a handful of men, under the command of the marquis de Bouillé, and the whole English garrison made prisoners of war. The conduct of the French was happily such as to yield relief to those who had suffered by the former invasion, as far as they were able, and to conciliate the affections of the Dutch. The inhabitants were assured that his most christian majesty did not intend to make any advantage of the capture, and that the expedition had been planned merely to relieve them from their distresses and oppression. The island of St. Martin submitted at the same time to the French arms.

When we turn our attention towards the East Indies we find the British forces more successful than in the West. After the defeat of colonel Baillie, the whole Carnatic was evacuated by the British, and Madras itself might be considered as in a state of blockade. The arrival of the indefatigable sir Eyre Coote, in the latter end of 1780, and the vigorous measures which he pursued, effected a sudden and unexpected change, and relieved, almost at a
single

single blow, the Carnatic from the ravages of a dangerous and remorseless enemy. In two days after his arrival he took his seat at the council-board, and produced orders from the supreme government of Bengal, for the suspension of Mr. Whitehill, the president, whose intemperate conduct had been a chief cause of alienating the affections of the Nizam.

Upon the arrival of sir Eyre Coote the troops were in a wretched state of despondency; the sepoys deserting, the inhabitants treacherous, and all the resources cut off. The general, therefore, ordered despatches at the same time to sir Edward Hughes and to general Goddard, to urge them to be active in distressing the possessions of Hyder on the Malabar coast, and to promote as much as possible a peace with the Mahrattas.

In the beginning of the year 1781, Hyder's force within the boundaries of the Carnatic alone was estimated at above 100,000 men, while that of sir Eyre Coote did not exceed 7000.

The two armies encountered near Porto Novo on the 1st of July. At seven in the morning the British troops proceeded from that place, and after an hour's march came in sight of the enemy strongly posted. Hyder's artillery was well served by Europeans, or those instructed by them, and did considerable execution. In this critical situation, a bold movement was necessary; and the British general determined to turn the right of the enemy. Fortunately the country accorded with his wishes, and by this movement he was enabled to take the enemy obliquely, and avoid the full front and fire of their works and batteries. In this manner the first line only decided the fortune of the day. Though Hyder, with great dexterity and promptness, formed a new front to receive the British general, and detached a large body of infantry to prevent the second line from obtaining possession of some high grounds, yet at length European order and discipline was victorious over the undisciplined rabble of an eastern camp. Hyder was obliged to retreat, after leaving 3000 of his best troops dead on the field of battle.

In the course of the following month the British gained a second victory over Hyder, after fighting from nine in the morning till sun-set, within about 16 miles of the city of Trepaffore.

In the mean time the shipping of Hyder Ally was destroyed by sir Edward Hughes, in his own ports of Calicut and Mangalore. The Dutch also fatally experienced the valour and enterprize of the British forces in that quarter of the globe.

Some gentlemen of the factory at Fort Marlborough, in the month of August, undertook an expedition against Sumatra; and all the Dutch settlements on the western coast of that island were reduced without any loss. The town and fortrefs of Negapatam, in the Tanjore country (one of the most valuable of the Dutch settlements on the continent of India), surrendered by capitulation to the English on the 12th of November, after a siege of twenty-two days.

The expulsion of the rajah Cheyt Sing from the zemindary of Benares, though a domestic concern of the company, is become important from the share it has had in the trial of Mr. Hastings. The rajah Cheyt Sing succeeded his father in the year 1770, whose establishment in the succession had been a great object with the English East India company.

On the death of Sujah ul Dowla in 1775, the country of Benares was ceded to the English; and the rajah continued in the same situation to the East India company as he had stood in to the nabob vizier, viz. as a feudal vassal, at a settled rate of tribute, which, it is by some asserted, could not legally be increased without the rajah's consent. The exigencies of the year 1778, however, induced the governor-general, Mr. Hastings, to make some extraordinary requisitions from the vassals of the company; and the rajah Cheyt Sing was required to contribute an extraordinary subsidy of five lacks of rupees, or 60,000l. It was alleged that the rajah was disaffected to the British interest, and was desirous, as well as others of the native powers, to become independent of the company by the aid of the French. With great reluctance,

luctance, the rajah was induced to consent to the payment; and the requisition being repeated during three years, and every year worse paid than before, a demand of 2000 cavalry was at length added to the former, with which the rajah declared himself absolutely unable to comply.

On the 7th of July 1781, Mr. Hastings proceeded on a political tour, in order to settle the affairs of Benares, and to restore order in the dominions of the nabob vizier; and also to obtain supplies from every quarter, and to conclude a separate peace with Madajee Scindia, through the intervention of colonel Muir. The governor-general was met by the rajah at Buxar; he complained of the exorbitance of the governor's demands, which were the payment of a crore of rupees, or 1,200,000 l., and the surrender of the fortrefs of Bidjegur, which he considered as "his family residence, the deposit of his women, and of his honour."

The governor, dissatisfied at the non-compliance of the rajah, laid his person under an arrest soon after his arrival at Benares, and he was committed by Mr. Markham, the resident, to the custody of the military. A large body of people immediately crossed the river from Ramnagur, and surrounded the palace where the rajah was confined; a desperate conflict ensued; and the muskets of the sepoys not being loaded, through a motive of delicacy, it was alleged, lest they should seem to mistrust their noble prisoner; the English lieutenants Stalker, Scot, and Simes, were killed upon the spot, and not more than 20 of the whole party escaped with their lives.

Before major Popham could bring up the remainder of his detachment to Benares, the rajah had effected his escape, and took refuge in his fortrefs of Bidjegur, which he was soon afterwards obliged to relinquish; and, taking with him all the treasure he could conveniently convey, bid an everlasting adieu to his country. The booty found in the fortrefs was considerable; and, being divided according to the improper proportion which custom has sanctioned with respect to prize-money, produced 36,000 l. for the share of the commander in chief, and only six pounds for that of the common soldier.

The governor-general concluded a treaty of alliance and amity with Madajee Scindia, at Oude, on the 13th of October.

The desultory nature of the war at this time, which raged in so many quarters of the globe at the same moment, obliges us to produce a recital, which may appear somewhat confused, because we are obliged to revert from the most distant parts, by an abrupt transition to the affairs of Europe.

The inactivity of the Dutch has been attributed to the treachery of certain persons, employed in high offices of trust under the States General, secretly in league with the court of London.

To harass the trade of Holland, and to protect that of England, a squadron was fitted out at Portsmouth, in the month of June, and the command given to admiral sir Hyde Parker. The Dutch seemed, at an instant, to awake from their torpid inactivity; and by the middle of July, a considerable fleet was fitted out in the Texel, under the command of admiral Zoutman, who sailed about that period, with a considerable convoy under his protection. The British admiral was then on his return with the convoy from Elsinour. The hostile fleets met and fought on the morning of the 5th of August off the Dogger Bank. The force of the Dutch was seven ships of the line, and ten frigates; and the British squadron consisted only of six ships of the line, and five frigates, but was superior in weight of metal to the Dutch fleet: The firing on both sides was restrained till the ships came within half musket shot of each other; and the action continued with an unceasing fire for three hours and forty minutes, till the vessels on both sides were so shattered that they became unmanageable, and unable to form a line to renew the combat. For a considerable time both squadrons lay to in this condition; at length the Dutch, with their convoy, bore away for the Texel; and admiral Parker was in no condition to follow them. The English lost 104 men killed, and 339 wounded; the loss of the enemy must have been more considerable. It was attributed

attributed to the neglect of the admiralty that the advantages on the part of the English were not greater.

It was owing to the remissness of the same department, that the French fleet from Brest, under the count de Guichen, was permitted to form a junction with the Spanish fleet from Cadiz, in the latter end of July. The combined fleets consisted of 49 ships of the line, and carried with them 10,000 land forces for the reduction of Minorca. After landing the troops upon that island, the combined fleets returned with the arrogant intention of annihilating, for ever, the naval force of England. The hostile fleets appeared in the British channel before the ministry had any information of their movements; and it was owing to the accidental meeting of a neutral vessel that admiral Darby had time to escape into Torbay with the British fleet. The count de Guichen was for an immediate attack upon the British ships as they lay: A contrary opinion was supported by M. Bouffel, an officer of great reputation, who pointed out the danger there would be in attacking admiral Darby, in his present situation, as they could not bear down upon him in a line of battle abreast, but must go down upon the enemy singly. The Spanish admiral, and the major part of the officers of the fleet, coincided with M. Bouffel in opinion: Besides, the leaky condition of the ships, and the mortality which prevailed among the seamen, were further inducements to refrain from an immediate attack.

The combined fleets, after waiting in vain for some time to intercept our homeward-bound ships, were obliged, from the hard weather, which set in about September, to return to port as soon as possible. M. Guichen took shelter in Brest; but though the Spanish squadron was scarcely in a condition to reach its destined port, the etiquette of that frivolous court forbid its entrance into a French harbour.

In the beginning of December M. de Guichen sailed again from Brest with 19 ships of the line, and a considerable convoy of merchant-ships. Admiral Kempenfelt was despatched to intercept them with no more than 12 sail of the line. On the 12th the British admiral encountered the

the enemy in a hard gale of wind, when both fleet and convoy were considerably dispersed. With much professional skill he cut off 20 of the convoy, and afterwards drew up in a line of battle to face the enemy, when, for the first time, he was apprised of his great inferiority, and was obliged to retreat. The gross neglect of the admiralty excited the discontent of the public when they saw so favourable an opportunity lost of regaining the honour of the British flag.

On the last day of this year (1781) Henry Laurens was released from his long confinement in the Tower of London. As nothing can mark more strongly the petty passions, by which this truly despicable ministry were actuated, than the unworthy treatment of this venerable man, we shall trespass on the reader's patience by stating a few circumstances relative to it. He had been committed there, as already related, on the 6th of October 1780, "on suspicion of high treason," after being examined in the presence of lord Stormont, lord George Germaine, lord Hillsborough, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. justice Addington, and others. The commitment was accompanied with a warrant to the lieutenant of the Tower to receive and confine him. Their lordships' orders were, "To confine him a close prisoner; to be locked up every night; to be in the custody of two warders; not to suffer him to be out of their sight one moment, day or night; to allow him no liberty of speaking to any person, nor permit any person to speak to him; to deprive him of the use of pen and ink; to suffer no letter to be brought to him, nor any to go from him." Mr. Laurens was then fifty-five years old, and severely afflicted with the gout and other infirmities. In this situation he was conducted to apartments in the Tower, and was shut up in two small rooms which together made about twenty feet square, with a warder for his constant companion, and a fixed bayonet under his window, without any friend to converse with, and without any prospect or even the means of correspondence. Being debarred the use of pen and ink, he procured pencils, which proved an useful substitute. After a month's confinement,

finement, he was permitted to walk out on limited ground, but a warder with a sword in his hand followed close behind. This indulgence was occasionally used for about three weeks, when lord George Gordon, who was also a prisoner in the Tower, unluckily met and asked Mr. Laurens to walk with him. Mr. Laurens declined the offer, and instantly returned to his apartment. Governor Gore caught at this transgression of orders, and locked him up for 37 days, though the attending warder exculpated him from all blame. At the end of that time the governor relented so far, as to permit his prisoner to walk on the parade before the door; but this favour, as coming from him, was refused. General Vernon, on hearing of what had passed, gave orders that Mr. Laurens should be permitted to walk out, and this exercise was in consequence resumed, after an intermission of two months and a half.

About this time * an old friend and mercantile correspondent having solicited the secretaries of state for Mr. Laurens's enlargement on parole, and having offered his whole fortune as security for his good conduct, sent him the following message: "Their lordships say, if you will point out any thing for the benefit of Great Britain in the present dispute with the colonies, you shall be enlarged." This proposition filled him with indignation, and provoked a sharp reply, part of which was in the following words: "I perceive from the message you sent me, that if I were a rascal I might presently get out of the Tower; but I am not. You have pledged your word and fortune for my integrity. I will never dishonour you nor myself. I can foresee what will come to pass: Happen to we what may, I fear no possible consequences."

The same friend soon after visited Mr. Laurens, and being left alone with him, addressed him as follows: "I converse with you this morning, not particularly as your friend, but as the friend of Great Britain. I have certain propositions to make for obtaining your liberty, which I advise you should take time to consider." Mr.

* February 26, 1781.

Lauren

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MM

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Laurens desired to know what they were, and added, "That an honest man required no time to give an answer, in a case where his honour was concerned."—"If," said he, "the secretaries of state will enlarge me upon parole, I will strictly conform to my engagement to do nothing directly or indirectly to the hurt of this kingdom. I will return to America, or remain in any part of England which may be assigned, and surrender myself when demanded." It was answered, "No, sir, you must stay in London among your friends: The ministers will often have occasion to send for and consult you: You can write two or three lines to the ministers, and barely say you are sorry for what is past: A pardon will be granted: Every man has been wrong, at some time or other of his life, and should not be ashamed to acknowledge it." Mr. Laurens replied, "I will never subscribe to my own infamy, and to the dishonour of my children." He was then told of long and painful confinement, and hints were thrown out of the possible consequences of his refusal: To which he replied, "I am afraid of no consequences but such as would flow from dishonourable acts."

In about a week after this interview, major-general James Grant, who had long been acquainted with Mr. Laurens, and had served with him near twenty years before, on an expedition against the Cherokee Indians, visited him in the Tower, and talked much of the inconveniences of his situation, and then addressed him thus: "Colonel Laurens, I have brought paper and pencil to take down any propositions you have to make to administration, and I will deliver them myself." Mr. Laurens replied, "I have pencil and paper, but not one proposition, beyond repeating a request to be enlarged on parole. I had well weighed what consequences might follow before I entered into the present dispute. I took the path of justice and honour, and no personal evils can cause me to shrink."

About this time lieutenant-colonel John Laurens, the eldest son of Henry Laurens, arrived in France as the special minister of congress. The father was requested
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to write to the son to withdraw himself from the court of France, and assurances were given that it would operate in his favour. To these requests he replied, "My son is of age, and has a will of his own; if I should write to him in the terms you request, it would have no effect: He would only conclude, that confinement and persuasion had softened me. I know him to be a man of honour; he loves me dearly, and would lay down his life to save mine; but I am sure he would not sacrifice his honour to save my life; and I applaud him."

Mr. Laurens * pencilled an address to the secretaries of state for the use of pen and ink, to draw a bill of exchange on a merchant in London who was in his debt, for money to answer his immediate exigencies, and to request that his youngest son might be permitted to visit him, for the purpose of concerting a plan for his farther education and conduct in life. This was delivered to their lordships: But they, though they had made no provision for the support of their prisoner, returned no answer. Mr. Laurens was thus left to languish in confinement under many infirmities, and without the means of applying his own resources on the spot, for his immediate support.

As soon as Mr. Laurens had completed a year in the Tower, he was called upon to pay 97l. 10s. sterling to the two warders for attending on him. To which he replied, "I was sent to the Tower by the secretaries of state without money (for ought they knew)---their lordships have never supplied me with any thing. It is now upwards of three months since I informed their lordships that the fund I had hitherto subsisted upon was nearly exhausted, and prayed for leave to draw a bill on Mr. John Nutt, who was in my debt, which they have been pleased to refuse by the most grating of all denials, a total silence; and now a demand is made for 97l. 10s. If their lordships will permit me to draw for money where it is due to me, I will continue to pay my own expenses, but I will not pay the warders, whom I never employed, and whose attendance I shall be glad to dispense with."

* June 29.

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Three weeks after, the secretaries of state consented that Mr. Laurens should have the use of pen and ink, for the purpose of drawing a bill of exchange; but they were taken away the moment that business was done.

About this time Henry Laurens, junior, wrote an humble request to lord Hillsborough for permission to see his father, which his lordship refused to grant. He had at first been permitted to visit his father, and converse with him for a short time; but these interviews were no longer permitted. They nevertheless occasionally met on the lines and saluted each other, but durst not exchange a single word, lest it might occasion a second confinement, similar to that to which lord George Gordon had been accessory.

As the year 1781 drew near a close, Mr. Laurens's sufferings in the Tower became generally known, and excited compassion in his favour, and odium against the authors of his confinement. It had been also found by the inefficacy of many attempts, that no concessions could be obtained from him. It was therefore resolved to release him; but difficulties arose about the mode. Mr. Laurens would not consent to any act which implied that he was a British subject, and he had been committed as such, on charge of high treason. Ministers, to extricate themselves from this difficulty, at length proposed to take bail for his appearance at the court of king's bench. When the words of the recognizance, "Our sovereign lord the king," were read to Mr. Laurens, he replied in open court, "Not my sovereign," and with this declaration he, with Mr. Oswald and Mr. Anderson as his securities, entered into an obligation for his appearance at the court of king's bench the next Easter term, and for not departing thence without leave of the court. Thus ended a long and a painful farce. Mr. Laurens was immediately released. When the time of his appearance at court drew near, he was not only discharged from all obligations to attend, but was requested by lord Shelburne to go to the continent, in subserviency to a scheme for making peace with America. Mr. Laurens, startled at the idea of being released without any equivalent, as he had uniformly held

held himself to be a prisoner of war, replied, that “He durst not accept himself as a gift; and that as congress had once offered lieutenant-general Burgoyne for him, he had no doubt of their now giving lieutenant-general earl Cornwallis for the same purpose.”

CHAP. XVII.

Decline of lord North's influence---Session of parliament---King's speech---Debate on the address---Revived---Motion by Mr. Pitt to withhold the supplies---Mr. Burke's motion concerning St. Eustatius---Motion against offensive war with America---Army estimates---Petitions against the war---Misconduct of admiralty---Lord George Germaine created a peer---General Conway's motion against the war---Further motions to that effect---Dissolution of the ministry---Characters of the leading persons among them---New ministry---Popular measures---Embarrassed by lord Thurlow---Affairs of Ireland---Reform bills---Campaign of 1782---Minorca taken---Successes of the French in the West Indies---De Grasse defeated by Rodney---Misfortunes of West India fleet---Bahamas taken by the Spaniards---American affairs---Death of captain Huddy---Difficult situation of captain Asgill---Evacuation of Georgia and South-Carolina---Dutch forts in Africa taken---Trincomalé taken by the English---Defeat of Spaniards at Gibraltar---Death of lord Rockingham---New administration.

[A. D. 1781, 1782.]

NOTWITHSTANDING ministers had flattered themselves that they had secured such a majority at the general election as to render their power permanent and irresistible, yet it soon appeared that they were mistaken in this opinion, and that of the new members the majority were secretly disposed to favour the whig party. From the moment of the capture of lord Cornwallis all

discerning men foresaw the downfall of lord North's administration, and the wavering and venal phalanx in the senate had already begun to make overtures to the leaders of opposition. In the midst of the dissatisfaction and general ill-humour created by the repeated disgraces which had attended the British arms in America, the parliament assembled on the 27th of November 1781. In the speech from the throne his majesty observed, "that the war was still unhappily prolonged, and that to his great concern, the events of it had been very unfortunate to his army in Virginia, having ended in the total loss of his forces in that province. But he could not consent to sacrifice, either to his own desire of peace or to the temporary ease and relief of his subjects, those essential rights and permanent interests upon which the strength and security of this country must ever principally depend." His majesty declared, "that he retained a firm confidence in the protection of Divine Providence, and a perfect conviction of the justice of his cause;" and he concluded by calling "for the concurrence and support of parliament, and a *vigorous, animated, and united exertion of the faculties and resources of his people.*"

A motion for an address of thanks, in the usual style, was made in the house of commons, by Mr. Perceval, and seconded by Mr. Thomas Orde. The former of these gentlemen observed, that his wishes for the re-establishment of peace were ardent and sincere; but he was fully convinced, that a durable and advantageous peace could result only from a firm, vigorous, and unremitting prosecution of the war*. The present was not the time to relinquish hope, but to resolve upon exertion. By despair we should invite calamity to overwhelm us; and ill would it become a great and valiant people, whose resources were yet powerful and numerous, to submit where they should resist, to look with indifference upon their political importance, and to tarnish, by indolent pusillanimity, the

* It may perhaps not be unamusing to the reader to compare this language with that of the same desperate faction at the present time 1795.

national and dear-bought glories, both of remote and of recent æras, instead of opposing, with augmented force, a combination whose inveterate efforts to throw out of the scale of Europe the whole political existence of Great Britain, were strengthened by the late victory over lord Cornwallis in Virginia. But if a general spirit of unanimity, so requisite at one of the most alarming and important periods in the British annals, was to arise within the walls of parliament, and thence to diffuse itself throughout the body of the people, the gloom that hovered round us would rapidly disperse, and great successes would conduct the nation back to all its pristine splendour and felicity. Mr. Orde also strongly exhorted the house to become unanimous in their resolutions for the support of government; and declared himself of opinion, that nothing could tend to restore the greatness of this country, but a successful prosecution of the war, which might lead to such a peace as would accord with the honour and dignity of Great Britain. Similar sentiments were thrown out by some other gentlemen on the side of administration.

The address was opposed by Mr. Fox with his usual energy and rapidity of eloquence. He said there never was any time when it was so necessary to observe, as at the present, that the speech from the throne was not to be considered as the speech of the king, but of the ministers. He had expected, and it had been the general expectation of many others, that this speech would have been of a very different tendency; that they should have heard his majesty declare from the throne, “That he had been deceived and imposed upon by misinformation and misrepresentation; that, in consequence of his delusion, the parliament had been deluded; but that now the deception was at an end. He saw that he had been in an error, and that he and his people had suffered enough from the consequences of it; and, therefore, that he requested of his parliament to devise the most speedy and direct means of putting an end to the public calamities, and of restoring peace, security, and happiness to his dominions.” But, instead of a speech of this kind, they had heard one which breathed little

else but rancour, vengeance, misery, and blood. Those, he added, who *were ignorant of the personal character of the sovereign*, and who imagined this speech to originate with him, might be led to suppose that he was an unfeeling despot, rejoicing in the horrid sacrifice of the liberty and lives of his subjects, who, when all hope of victory was vanished, still thirsted for revenge. The ministers who advised this speech he affirmed to be a *curse* to the country, over the affairs of which they had too long been suffered to preside. From that unrivalled pre-eminence which we so lately possessed, they had made us the object of ridicule and scorn to the surrounding nations. “But,” said he, “the time will surely come when an oppressed and irritated people will firmly call for *signal punishment* on those whose counsels have brought the nation so near to the brink of destruction. An indignant nation will surely in the end compel them to make some faint atonement, for the magnitude of their offences, on a *public scaffold*.” He concluded with moving an amendment. The address was defended by the minister in his usual strain; and the amendment of Mr. Fox, which went to prevent the house from being pledged to any specific measure, was negatived by 218 votes against 129. Opposition pursued a similar chain of argument in the upper house, and equally in vain. The duke of Richmond objected particularly to the clause in the speech and the address, which attributed the “war to the restless ambition of our enemies.” He said, the *ministry* alone were the authors of the war, and of all its calamities; that scarcely a *seventh* part of the people were represented; and that the kingdom was governed by clerks. The interior cabinet, he added, had been the ruin of the country; and the late earl of Chatham had publicly declared in that house, that he had been duped and deceived; and that he had not been ten days in the cabinet, before he felt the ground rotten under his feet.

Lord Stormont defended the address as originally proposed; and observed, that the language of the speech from the throne was proper to be held by any prince worthy of the crown in a moment like the present; and he

the long-established custom rendered such an address as had been moved the fit answer to it. Would their lordships wish to tell all Europe, at such a period as the present, that they should not support his majesty in a vigorous prosecution of the war? The preservation of America, as a dependant part of the British empire, was too important to be relinquished; and the present crisis, so far from justifying despair, called for redoubled ardour and for immediate exertion.

Lord Camden thought the address had something lurking under it; and if he voted for it, he should conscientiously think himself bound to vote for every measure of the ministry, relative to the American war, during the whole session. He attacked lord Stormont's argument; and said, with regard to the speech and the address, that the one was an echo of the other; they both, as their lordships well knew, came out of the same shop; and, in fact, it was the minister answering the minister. His lordship took a retrospective view of all the operations of the campaign by sea and land, commenting severely upon each. He declared, that it was the custom of France to fit out a large force to effect an expedition wisely planned, and generally successfully executed; and that it was our custom to follow the French with a small force, and to arrive after the business was done; so that we resembled the clumsy fencer described by Demosthenes, who was remarkable for clapping his hand to the part of his body after he had received a blow, but never hit his adversary, nor warded off any one of his attacks. His lordship concluded with reminding the house of the speech of a Spanish statesman to Philip III. who was at war with every power in Europe, when the statesman, to comfort his master, said, "Please your majesty, you have but two enemies, all the world and your own ministers."

The lord chancellor said, that the present speech from the throne, like all others at the commencement of a session, was no more than a brief state of the nation, delivered in the ancient style of composition, and conformably to established usage, from almost the first ex-

istence of a parliament; and as to the address, its language not being specifically binding, their lordships might vote in favour of it, without pledging themselves to support any future ministerial measure whatever. The house at length divided, when the amendment was rejected, by a majority of 75 to 31. A short protest against the address was entered in the journals of the house, signed by the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Rockingham, and earl Fitzwilliam, in which they declared, that they dissented, “for reasons too often urged in vain for the last seven years against the ruinous prosecution of the unjust war carrying on by his majesty’s ministers against the people of North America, and too fatally confirmed by repeated experience, and the late disgraceful loss of a second army, to stand in need of repetition.”

As it was evident from some intimations which had fallen from lord Stormont, that it was the decided intention of ministers to prosecute to the utmost the disastrous war in which they had engaged the nation, it was determined to renew the debate on bringing up the address on this occasion. Mr. Pitt particularly distinguished himself, and said, the address then at the bar was conceived in terms the most hypocritical and delusive, and if suffered to pass for the real sentiments of the house of commons, it would deceive the king, prostitute the judgment of parliament, and insult the people: That “the war was an appendage to the first lord of the treasury too dear to be parted with; it was the grand pillar raised on the ruins of the constitution, by which he held his situation.”

Mr. Burke characterised the address as altogether “a cheat and a delusion;” he said “the ministers dealt only in delusions; they were the daily traffic of his invention.” He proceeded to set in the strongest point of view the misconduct of administration, but in vain; for ministry still retained at their disposal a considerable though evidently a decreasing majority.

On the 30th a motion being made by sir Grey Cooper for the house to resolve itself into a committee of supply, Mr. T. Pitt rose to move that no supply be granted unless
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ministers should pledge themselves solemnly to alter their measures. A vehement debate ensued. Mr. Fox, in the course of a most animated speech, asked "if ministers would give any satisfactory assurance to the house, that the military forces which should hereafter be sent across the Atlantic, would be employed more successfully or honourably than those which had already been sent thither? Did the American secretary wish to despatch a third army to America, that general Washington might a third time receive them as prisoners of war? Did he wish that more British troops should be devoted to slaughter, captivity, and disgrace? Notwithstanding the defeat and dishonour which had attended the measures of administration, they had yet discovered no signs of humiliation or penitence. Instead of acknowledging that they turned their eyes with inquietude and shame upon the criminal expenditure of fruitless millions, they did not blush to move for an increase of grants, that they might prosecute, till ruin should have stopped their infamous career, hostilities which were the result of barbarous ambition, of implacable malevolence, of a detestation of liberty, of a contempt for every principle of justice, equity, and honour."

The ministers were so vigorously pressed in this debate, and seemed so utterly incapable of defending themselves or their measures, that it was probably a welcome surprise to them, to find in their favour, on the division, 172 voices to 77.

While both parties were preparing to bring the grand question relative to the continuance of the war, to a complete decision, Mr. Burke was not forgetful of the transactions in St. Eustatius, and on the 4th December moved for an inquiry into the confiscation of property there, and the subsequent sale and conveyance of the goods to the French islands, and other ports belonging to his majesty's enemies. In the discussion of this affair, he set forth the expedition against St. Eustatius in a very ridiculous light. "After an unsuccessful attempt," said he, "upon the island of St. Vincent, against which a weak and insufficient force had been employed, the British commanders, in obedience to directions received from

from England, turned their arms against Eustatius. This island was known to be in a state totally defenceless. A single gun, of which the friendly and courteous use was to salute the ships of the English and other European powers, on their arrival at this free port, remained upon the walls of a mouldering old castle, in which there was a garrison of 27 soldiers, and about 30 other persons of various descriptions. The armament employed for the reduction of the settlement thus defended, and ignorant even of the commencement of hostilities betwixt the two nations, consisted of 15 sail of the line, a proportionable number of frigates, and near 3000 chosen troops. On this occasion, the miracle of Jericho was needless; for, at the first sound of the trumpet, and long before the ramparts could have fallen, the governor surrendered the island at discretion. But it seems that our commanders interpreted discretion into destruction; for they did not leave the conquered a shilling. Their warehouses were locked up; their books taken from them; their provisions withheld; and they were compelled to give in an account of all their ready money, plate, jewels, &c. Nor was rank, or sex, or age, spared in the general order; all were included, and all were forced to comply. Nay, so great had the hardships been which the inhabitants were forced to undergo, that governor Meynell, who died, was supposed to have fallen a victim to the hardships he had endured. The next measure was, the general proscription of all the inhabitants, by which they were ordered to quit the island, all without exception. The Dutch were banished, because they were Dutch; the Americans, because they were the king's enemies; and the Jews, because they were of a different religion from that of their conquerors. The case of Mr. Gouverneur was not a little remarkable: He had traded solely in dry goods; and no naval or military stores whatever had passed through his hands; but he acted upon commission from the congress. They viewed this gentleman in a twofold light, and thereby were sure to catch him doubly: They considered him as a Dutchman, and as an Englishman. As a Dutchman, they confiscated his property;

perty ; as an Englishman, they confined him as a traitor, and sent him to England, to be reserved for the justice of his country to pronounce upon him. The poor Jews at St. Eustatius were treated in a worse manner, if possible, than all the other inhabitants. They were stripped of all their money, and eight of them put on board a ship, to be carried out of the island. One of them in particular, Mr. Hohen, a venerable old gentleman, near seventy years of age, had even his clothes searched ; “ and, from this bit of linen (said Mr. Burke, holding it up), which was sewed in the poor man’s coat, were taken 36s. which he had had the consummate audacity to endeavour to conceal for the purpose of buying victuals.” The commanders in chief having determined upon the confiscation, the next thing to be thought of was the sale of the goods. A proclamation was accordingly issued, promising free ingress and regress to all purchasers, together with security that their money should not be taken from them, and that they should be at liberty to carry away the goods they should purchase. If this difficulty had not been obviated, there would have been no purchasers : A convoy was therefore promised to them, and actually granted ; and he could prove, that the convoy was the *Convert* frigate, captain Harvy, which was appointed to see the purchasers with their commodities clear of the privateers ; by which means the goods got safe into Martinique, a place which our privateers would never have suffered them to reach, if St. Eustatius had remained under the Dutch. Another circumstance was, that the goods so sold had been disposed of 50 per cent. cheaper than the Dutch had before that sold similar articles to the French ; so that in fact the only apparent use that the conquest of St. Eustatius appeared to be of was, that the French and Americans had been supplied with stores by our commanders, and at 50 per cent. cheaper than they used to get them from the Dutch. Three months too were spent by these commanders in disposing of and securing the plunder of St. Eustatius. The consequences of this conduct, with respect to the events of the campaign, both in the West Indies and America, were next adverted to

to by Mr. Burke. The fleet under the command of sir George Rodney, even after the departure of commodore Hotham, who had sailed with a small squadron to convoy a part of the treasure found in St. Eustatius to England, amounted to 21 sail of the line. The whole French force, previous to the arrival of Mons. de Grasse, consisted only of eight ships of the line, and one fifty. This favourable opportunity of recovering some of our former possessions, or attacking those of the enemy, was entirely neglected; the whole fleet, and near 3000 chosen troops, being kept upwards of two months in a state of total inaction, for the important service of protecting the sales of St. Eustatius. The second misfortune, that had sprung from the same disgraceful cause, was the weakness of the detachment sent under the command of sir Samuel Hood, to prevent the junction of the French fleet in the West Indies, and that which arrived with de Grasse from Europe. Three sail of the line were detained by the commanders, for the same laudable purpose of securing the plunder of St. Eustatius; and this separation of our naval force, in all human probability, brought on the whole train of calamitous events which followed; the junction of the French fleets; the loss of Tobago; and finally, the dreadful disaster in the Chesapeake."

In answer to this weighty and pointed charge, sir George Rodney, after a virulent invective against the Dutch, declared, that their perfidious attachment to the enemies of Great Britain had determined him to adopt the line of conduct he had pursued, in the capture of St. Eustatius; and that, in his opinion, it fully justified the entire confiscation of the property found on that island. He could not have been actuated by any mercenary views in this determination, as he had avowedly made the seizure for the sole and exclusive benefit of the crown; and had not received intelligence, till long after the confiscation, of his majesty's gracious intentions of relinquishing his right in favour of the fleet and army, to whom the island had surrendered. With respect to the outrages that were alleged to have been committed, or any wanton and lawless exercise of power, he asserted, that, as far as the

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accusation related to himself, it was absolutely groundless. In regard to the charge of having suffered stores and provisions to be purchased for the service of the enemy, and transported to the islands in their possession, he declared that the very reverse was the truth; that he had given the strictest orders that none of them should be sold, but all sent to his majesty's yards at Antigua. So scrupulously exact had he been in this respect, that he had not only examined himself the clearance of every ship that went out of the port, but caused them to anchor under his stern, where they were strictly examined by commissioned officers of the navy. As to the aspersions thrown on his military character, for remaining three months inactive at St. Eustatius, and detaching an inadequate force to prevent the junction of the French fleets, he remarked, that during that period he had planned two expeditions, one against Curacoa, and the other against Surinam; and was on the point of putting them into execution, when he received intelligence of the approach of Mons. de Grasse. That this intelligence reported the French fleet to consist of no more than twelve sail of the line; and that consequently, he had thought sir Samuel Hood a sufficient match for them with fifteen. That as soon as he heard of the failure of sir Samuel Hood, he had put to sea with the ships remaining at St. Eustatius, and failed to join the fleet; that he had put St. Lucia into such a posture of defence, as had preserved that island from the subsequent attack of the French; and that he should doubtless have intercepted M. de Grasse himself, had not his designs been traiterously discovered to the enemy. The loss of Tobago, and the unfortunate conclusion of the campaign in the Chesapeake, were, he said, laid to his charge with equal injustice. With respect to the former, as soon as he heard it had been attacked, he immediately sent rear-admiral Drake with six sail of the line to relieve it. And as to the charge brought by the governor of Tobago, all he would say in answer was, that even the guns he had sent the year before for its defence, had never been mounted by the governor. With respect to the disaster in the Chesapeake, he had taken every step
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in his power to prevent it. He had sent twice to the admiral at Jamaica, to forward the Prince William and Torbay to America with the greatest despatch; and he sent also three times to the admiral in America, desiring he would collect his whole force, and meet him with it off the Capes of Virginia; but no answer had been sent to him, or to sir Samuel Hood; for he himself was then so ill that he was coming home. If the admiral in America had met sir Samuel Hood near the Chesapeake, the probability was, that de Grasse would have been defeated, and the surrender of lord Cornwallis prevented.

Sir George was followed by major-general Vaughan, who went nearly over the same ground, denying, in the most solemn manner, his having had any share or concern in the depredation and outrages alleged to have been committed. He refused to account for his conduct to an individual, but declared himself ready to enter into the fullest investigation of it before the house, if they should think fit to call for it; and, in proof of the falsity of one of the charges, he read an address he had received from the warden and rulers of the Jews, expressing the fullest sense of the obligations they owed him for his protection.

Issue being thus joined by the two parties, the motion for a committee of inquiry was strongly supported by lord John Cavendish, general Conway, Mr. Fox, Mr. Barré, and Mr. Sheridan. It was opposed by lord George Germaine, the lord advocate of Scotland, the secretary at war, and lord North. The two last objected principally to that part of the motion, which tended to prejudicate and affect the claims under litigation in the courts below; declaring their readiness to consent to the fullest investigation of the remaining charges. The lord advocate objected to the whole, for want of a specific accusation, and because, he said, the allegations were too indeterminate to be the ground of a parliamentary inquiry.

The efforts of Mr. Burke did great honour to his eloquence and to his humanity; but all his endeavours were in vain. It was the determination of the ministry to oppose

oppose any further inquiry into the business ; so that his motion was rejected, upon a division, by a majority of 163 to 89.

Not discouraged by repeated defeats, the minority on the 12th of December renewed their opposition to the American war under the form of a specific motion ; two of the leading men among the landed interest, sir James Lowther and Mr. Powys, were appointed to introduce the motion. In the beginning of the debate, lord North rose to make a declaration, that it was no longer in the contemplation of government to prosecute the war internally in America, but that the whole form and conduct of it was to undergo a total change. The motion of opposition however went no farther than to declare, that the war has hitherto been ineffectual to the purposes for which it was undertaken, and that all further attempts to reduce the Americans by force, would be injurious to the interests of the country.

In the course of his speech, Mr. Powys observed, that the vote of that day must either accelerate the ruin of Great Britain, or prove the instrument of restoring it to its habitual lustre, to all its former power, and to the plenitude of happiness and honour. A variety of pretexts, insidiously advanced by the ministry, and too credulously received by the majority of that house, had seduced them, from one session to another, to move with fatal steps along the path to national destruction. They had persevered in the American war against the voice of reason and of wisdom ; against that experience which ought to have taught them, and that calamity which ought to have made them feel : That war was the idol of his majesty's ministers, to which they had sacrificed the interests of the empire, and almost half its territories. They had bowed before it themselves, and had made the nation bow. They had asserted, that the public resources were not exhausted ; and they had made this assertion, because they themselves found no diminution of income. Their annual incomes arose out of the public purse ; and instead of diminishing, they increased with the misfortunes and with the impoverishment of the country. The insidious pretence of revenue was grown too stale for imposition. The American

rican war had been a war of delusion from beginning to end. Every promise had been broken, every assertion had been falsified, every object relinquished. It was now a war of this sort, then a war of that sort; now a war of revenue, then a war of supremacy; now a war of coercion, and then a war of friendship and affection for America: But it was time to put an end to these chicaneries. Whatever might be the nature of the war, no prospect of success in it remained. He therefore not only gave the motion his full concurrence, but he should feel the highest pleasure if it received the general approbation of the house."

In the course of the debate general Burgoyne acknowledged "that he was now convinced the principle of the American war was wrong, though he had not been of that opinion when he engaged in the service. Passion, and prejudice, and interest, were now no more, and reason and observation had led him to a very different conclusion: And he now saw that the American war was only one part of a system levelled against the constitution of this country, and the general rights of mankind."

The minister stated various arguments against the motion, such as the impolicy of pointing out to the enemy what was to be the future system of the war. On the vote of this day the minister experienced a defection of about twenty of those members who usually divided with him, as sir James Lowther's motion was rejected by only a majority of forty-one, or 220 against 179.

The late hour to which the debate on the 12th had been protracted, made it necessary to defer proceeding on the business of the army estimates till the following Friday, 14th December, when the subject of the American war underwent, for the fourth time since the beginning of the session, a long and vehement discussion. The secretary at war informed the house, that the whole force of the army, including the militia of the kingdom, required for the service of the year 1782, would amount to 195,000 men. One hundred thousand seamen and marines had been already voted by the house. It was however stated by lord George Germaine, "that the ministry were
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of opinion, considering the present situation of affairs, and the misfortunes of the war, that it would not be right to continue any longer the plan on which it had hitherto been conducted; and that a fresh army would not be sent to supply the place of that captured at York-Town. It was intended only to preserve such posts in America as might facilitate and co-operate with the enterprises of our fleets."

In the debate which ensued, sir George Saville particularly distinguished himself. "At length, then," said this firm and faithful patriot, "we are given to understand that a change is to be made in the mode of conducting the American war. The ministers do not intend to prosecute it in the same manner as before—Why? Because they could not if they would. But it appeared that they were determined to prosecute it with all the feeble efforts of which they were yet capable. Being detained in the country by ill health, he had not heard the king's speech on its first delivery; but when it reached him in his retirement, he had read it with horror, announcing as it did the continuance of the present war in its most destructive form. As to the address of that house, in answer to the speech, it was a mere echo without meaning, a futile and empty sound. So servile was the dependance of that house on the executive power, and so little solicitous were they to conceal their dependance, that if the king's speech had contained the line, 'What beauties does Flora disclose!' he doubted not but the address would have filled up the couplet by repeating, 'How sweet are her smiles upon Tweed!' The ministers had lost the two hands of the empire in the prosecution of this frantic and ineffectual war; by a continuance of it they would risque the head. Such a conduct resembled, if it did not indicate, the violence of insanity. Could the house so far forget their dignity, and relinquish their understanding, as not to resist this madness? Would they entrust lunatics with the management of the public purse? Would they place the sword within their hands, and bid them use it at their discretion?"

General Conway declared himself "anxious for a recall of our fleets and armies from America. Of two evils he would chuse the least, and submit to the independence of America, rather than persist in the prosecution of so pernicious and ruinous a war. As to the idea now suggested of a war of posts, what garrisons, he asked, would be able to maintain them, when it was well known that even sir Henry Clinton, at New-York, did not consider himself as secure?"

Mr. Fox remarked, "that four years ago, after the disaster of Saratoga, the noble lord at the head of affairs had amused the house with the same language as at present. Then the plan of future hostilities was to be differently modified, and the war conducted on a smaller and more contracted scale. On this contracted scale, however, we had lost another great army, besides suffering other grievous defeats, and irretrievable calamities."

Mr. Pitt reprobated with the utmost force of language, "as a species of obstinacy bordering upon madness, the idea of any further prosecution of the American war, with our fleets opposed by a superior force, and our armies in captivity. He appealed to the whole house, whether every description of men did not detest and execrate the American war, and whether it were uncharitable to implore the Almighty to shower down his vengeance on the men who were the authors of their country's ruin?"

In the house of lords, the ordinary business of government was suffered to proceed without any opposition till the day appointed for passing the malt and land-tax bills, December 12, when the marquis of Rockingham moved, that the third reading of the bills should be deferred till the first Wednesday after the recess. He prefaced this motion by declaring, that a recent public calamity, the retreat of the fleet under admiral Kempenfelt, had brought him down that day to the house; that he came without consultation with any person whatever, and with the expectation that he should probably not meet with a single peer who would unite in opinion with him; but that he was neither to be deterred from the faithful discharge of his

his duty by superiority of numbers, nor disheartened by the thin attendance of his friends. He then entered into a concise but comprehensive detail of the state of the nation, and urged from thence the necessity of coming to some immediate and decisive measures, for saving what remained of the empire from the irretrievable ruin, towards which it was rapidly verging.

After a speech of considerable length, which was delivered with an unusual exertion of voice, and a flow of genuine eloquence, he concluded with calling on the noble lords present, to join him in delaying for a few days the granting of the proposed supplies, in order that in a fuller assembly, and after a more mature deliberation, they might be better able to judge how far it was prudent to entrust any longer the expenditure of the public money to persons, whose gross misconduct was every day the cause of accumulating fresh misfortunes on the country.

Lords Stormont, Westmoreland, and Sandwich, spoke against the marquis's amendment; and the duke of Chandos and lord Chedworth for it; but it was negatived without a division, and the main question afterwards agreed to. The house next day adjourned.

A debate upon the same subject took place in the house of commons, December 20. Upon a motion being made to adjourn, Mr. Byng proposed an inquiry into the conduct of the first lord of the admiralty; but, after a long debate, it shared the same fate with the marquis of Rockingham's motion in the house of peers. After which the house adjourned to January 21.

The approbation of the people to the cause of the minority now appeared in several petitions and remonstrances which were presented against the war. The city of London, on this occasion, led the way in a very strong remonstrance, in which they tell his majesty, "Your armies have been captured; your dominions have been lost; and your majesty's faithful subjects have been loaded with a burden of taxes, which, even if our victories had been as splendid, as our defeats have been disgraceful; if our accession of dominion had been as fortunate as the dismemberment of the empire has been cruel and disastrous, could

not itself be considered, but as a great and grievous calamity." Several other remonstrances and addresses were brought in from other places ; and, before the meeting of parliament, the speedy dissolution of the ministry appeared evident.

An inquiry into the conduct of the first lord of the admiralty was the first business of parliament after the recess. The accusation was opened on the 23d of January 1782, with great address and ability, by Mr. Fox.

In support of the motion it was urged that our naval armaments had been always too late to be attended with any success ; and that the earl of Sandwich had uniformly neglected to send fleets, at the opening of the several campaigns, to prevent the junction of the French and Spanish squadrons ; nor had he, at the conclusion of those campaigns, made any attempts to attack or to annoy their separate force. The confederate fleets, amounting to sixty sail of the line, under the count d'Orvilliers, had appeared in the channel, with every mark of triumph, for two campaigns, not only unresisted, but even shunned by our naval armaments. The chevalier de Ternay had also been suffered to proceed unmolested with his ships to America, when he transported thither those French troops which afterwards served under general Washington, and assisted in the capture of lord Cornwallis and his army. Captain Moutray, and the large fleet of East and West Indiamen under his convoy, had been betrayed into the hands of the enemy, by being directed to repair to Madeira ; whereby they were of necessity obliged to proceed in that track which could not fail to conduct them to the naval armaments of the enemy. Indeed, the first lord of the admiralty had acted uniformly as the ally and servant of the house of Bourbon ; and so had the rest of his majesty's ministers ; without whose aid, the wisdom of a Franklin, the valour and the prudence of a Maurepas, the vigilance of a Sartine, the craft of a de Caistres, the policy of America, and all the vigour and resources of France and Spain, though doubly formidable from their confederacy with Holland, could never have

have attained the power of overwhelming our once invincible dominions with so much disgrace and calamity.

The culprit was defended by captain John Luttrell, lord Mulgrave, and lord North. After some altercation, however, it was agreed, that the inquiry should be referred to a committee of the whole house, on the following Thursday; and this was followed by resolutions for certain papers, which were necessary to substantiate the criminal charges. The committee of inquiry having been, from various causes, delayed to the 7th of February, Mr. Fox on that day rose to move a resolution of censure, founded on facts contained in the papers which were laid in evidence before the house. Though no charges could be better founded, or more satisfactorily proved, than those against the first lord of the admiralty, the vote of censure was negatived in a very full house by a majority of twenty-two.

The creating of lord George Germaine a peer, and consequently calling him to that house which lord Chesterfield has emphatically termed "The hospital of incurables," was the first happy omen for the country of the mouldering state of the ministry; for before he assumed his new title of lord viscount Sackville, he resigned his office of American secretary. A motion was made by the marquis of Carmarthen (since duke of Leeds), intimating, that it was derogatory to the honour of the house, that any person, labouring under the heavy censure of a court martial, should be recommended by the crown as a proper person to sit in that house."

The motion was evaded by the question of adjournment; but lord George Germaine having actually taken his seat in the house under the title of lord viscount Sackville, the marquis of Carmarthen renewed his attack, and urged, "that the house of peers being a court of honour, it behoved them to preserve that honour uncontaminated, and to mark in the most forcible manner their disapprobation of the introduction of a person into that assembly who was stigmatised in the orderly books of every regiment in the service."

Lord Abingdon, who seconded the motion, styled the admission of lord George Germaine to a peerage "an insufferable indignity to that house, and an outrageous insult to the public.—What (said his lordship) has that person done to merit honours superior to his fellow-citizens? His only claim to promotion was, that he had undone his country by executing the plan of that accursed invisible, though efficient cabinet, from whom as he received his orders, so he had obtained his reward.

Lord Sackville, in his own vindication, denied the justice of the sentence passed upon him, and affirmed "that he considered his restoration to the council-board, at a very early period of the present reign, as amounting to a virtual repeal of that iniquitous verdict."

The duke of Richmond strongly defended the motion, and said "that he himself was present at the battle of Minden, and was summoned on the trial of lord George Germaine; and had his deposition been called for, he could have proved that the time lost when the noble viscount delayed to advance, under pretence of receiving contradictory orders, was not less than *one hour and a half*; that the cavalry were a mile and a quarter only from the scene of action; and it was certainly in his lordship's power, therefore, to have rendered the victory, important as it was, far more brilliant and decisive; and he had little reason to complain of the severity of the sentence passed upon him."

Lord Southampton also, who, as aid-de-camp to prince Ferdinand on that memorable day, delivered the message of his serene highness to his lordship, vindicated the equity of the sentence.

The motion was likewise powerfully supported by the earl of Shelburne, the marquis of Rockingham, and other distinguished peers.

On the division, nevertheless, it was rejected by a majority of 93 to 28 voices: But to the inexpressible chagrin of lord Sackville, a protest was entered on the journals of the house, declaring his promotion to be "an *insult on the memory of the late sovereign*, and highly derogatory to the dignity of that house."

The appointment of Mr. Welbore Ellis to the office of secretary to the American department, in the room of lord Sackville, and sir Guy Carleton to that of commander in chief in North America, occasioned an alarm among those who were persuaded, that there still existed a secret and obstinate attachment in the court to the prosecution of the war against the Americans. Another attempt, therefore, was made in the commons, on the 22d of February, to bind the hands of the executive power, by the strong and explicit declaration of parliament. To this purpose general Conway made a motion, “that an address should be presented, imploring his majesty, that the war might be no longer pursued for the impracticable purpose of reducing the people of America by force.” The motion was seconded by lord John Cavendish, and opposed by the new secretary for the American department, who declared, “that it was now in contemplation to contract the scale of the war, and to prosecute hostilities by such means as were very dissimilar from the past. That *unhappy faction* in America which still continued its resistance to the government of this kingdom, though *less numerous than the party of the royalists* *, could only be *rooted out* by pushing the war with vigour against France. In order to obtain peace with America we must vanquish the French; and as in the late war, America had been said to be conquered in Germany, so in this America must be conquered in France. In the present circumstances, the administration were conscious of the necessity of drawing into a narrow compass the operations of the American war, a change of circumstances demanding a correspondent change of measures.” That this miserable mixture of falsehood and folly should fail to make impression upon the house, cannot be deemed wonderful, and the ministry themselves seemed to despair of their cause, when they committed the defence of it to so contemptible an advocate;—whom Mr. Burke, in reply, overwhelmed with the supercilious and poignant disdain of his ridicule. “This war,” Mr. Burke said,

* Let the reader compare this again with the language of ministers on a similar occasion in 1794 and 1795.

“ had been most amazingly fertile in the growth of new statesmen ; the right honourable gentleman was indeed an old member, but a young secretary. Having, however, studied at the feet of Gamaliel, he had entered into full possession of all the parliamentary qualifications, by which his predecessor had been so conspicuously distinguished ;—the same attachments, the same antipathies, the same extravagant delusion, the same wild phantoms of the brain, marked the right honourable gentleman as the true ministerial heir and residuary legatee of the noble viscount. And notwithstanding the metamorphosis he had recently undergone, he was so truly the same thing in the same place, that justly might it be said of him, *‘ alter et idem nascitur. ’* Being of the caterpillar species, he had remained the destined time within the soft and silken folds of a lucrative employment, till having burst his ligaments he fluttered forth the butterfly minister of the day.” The decision of this question was a real triumph to opposition, as the motion was lost only by a single vote ; and as a majority of the absent members were supposed to be adverse to the ministry, it was thought expedient to bring the question again before the house in a different form. On the 27th of February, therefore, general Conway brought forward a new motion to the same effect, which was seconded by lord Althorpe, and petitions from several trading towns were read in disapprobation of the war. In order to evade the question, the attorney-general, Mr. Wallace, recommended that a truce should be proposed with America ; the intended deception, however, was too obvious to impose upon the house ; and, on a division upon his amendment, a majority of 19 appeared against the ministry. The motion of general Conway was immediately followed by another, for an address to his majesty, to put an end to the war ; and it was further resolved, that the address should be presented by the whole house.

When the house went up to St. James’s with the address, it was observed as a remarkable circumstance, that the noted general Arnold was found standing at the right hand of his majesty. This circumstance drew forth
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some pointed observations in parliament from lord Surrey, since duke of Norfolk, who declared, "that it was an insult to the house, and deserved its censure."

His majesty's answer to the address was in general terms, that he should take such measures as might appear to him most conducive to the restoration of peace. All reference to the prosecution of offensive war was cautiously avoided.

The evasive nature of this answer induced general Conway to move another resolution in the commons, declaring, "that the house would consider as enemies to his majesty, and to the country, all those who should advise the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America." After a feeble opposition, the motion was permitted to pass without a division. The embarrassment of ministers, and the triumph and exultation which pervaded the whole nation on the success of these motions, are hardly to be described. The whigs were regarded as the real friends and saviours of their country. The continuance of the ministry in office was, however, thought to be a favourite object with certain persons in high authority; and it had been intimated by ministers themselves, that though parliament had interfered with its advice respecting the American war, still since it had expressed no direct censure on their conduct, they could not be expected to resign. In order to remove this impediment, lord John Cavendish, on the 8th of March, moved a direct vote of censure upon the administration, which was seconded by Mr. Powys, in a forcible speech. The debate lasted till two in the morning, when, on a division, there appeared, in favour of administration, a majority of *ten*.

The unpopularity of lord North, however, was now further augmented by his proposal of some new taxes; particularly that on soap, the carriage of goods, and places of public entertainment; all of which were finally rejected by the house.

The interval between the 8th and 15th was generally supposed to have been employed in various unsuccessful attempts

attempts to divide the party in opposition; and as lord North still seemed averse to resign, on the latter day a motion was made by sir John Rous, and seconded by the younger lord George Cavendish, the design of which was to accelerate a change of administration. After reciting the facts contained in the resolutions moved on the 8th, it was proposed to resolve, "That, on consideration thereof, the house could have no farther confidence in the ministers who had the direction of public affairs." In the debate, the necessity of some new arrangement in the administration of public affairs was no longer denied; but the impolicy, and even the danger of throwing the country entirely into the hands of any party, was still strongly contended. A coalition was loudly called for by many moderate and independent members, and the propriety of leaving the noble lord at the head of the treasury in possession of his office, till such a measure could be accomplished, was much insisted on.

On the other side, it was urged, that the bait of a coalition had been thrown out by the court merely for the purpose of delay, and giving room for intrigue and cabal; and that, in order to secure to the nation the advantages which it was now universally admitted would arise from a total change in the public councils, it was necessary not to relax, for a moment, the vigorous pursuit of such measures, as could not fail of being speedily crowned with success.

A long debate ensued, which was remarkable for an argument respecting the American controversy, perfectly original, and unprecedented in all that had been said or written on that subject. Sir James Marriot informed the house, that though it had been frequently pretended, that the inhabitants of the colonies were not represented in the British parliament, yet the fact was otherwise; for they were actually represented. The first colonization, by national and sovereign authority, he remarked, was the establishment of the colony of Virginia. The grants and charters made of those lands, and of all the subsequent colonies, were of one tenure,
and

and expressed in the following terms : “ To have and to hold of the king or queen’s majesty, as part and parcel of the manor of East Greenwich, within the county of Kent, *reddendum*, a certain rent at our castle of East Greenwich, &c.” So that the inhabitants of America were, in fact, by the nature of their tenure, represented in parliament by the knights of the shire for the county of Kent. This curious legal discovery, that the American colonies were *part* and *parcel* of the *manor of East Greenwich*, though delivered by the learned judge with all proper gravity and solemnity, yet excited so much merriment in the house, that it was with great difficulty, for some time, that the speaker could preserve any kind of order.

Lord North endeavoured to vindicate his own administration. He affirmed, that it could not be declared with truth, by that house, that the loss of the American colonies, or of the West India islands, or our other national calamities, originated from the measures of the present administration. The repeal of the American stamp-act, and the passing of the declaratory law, took place before his entrance into office. As a private member of parliament, he gave his vote in favour of both; but, as a minister, he was not responsible for either.—The house at length divided upon the question, when there appeared for it 227, and against it 236; so that there was a majority of nine in favour of administration.

Notwithstanding this seemingly favourable determination, it was so well known that the ministry could not stand their ground, that four days after (March 19) a similar motion to that made by sir John Rous, was to have been made by the earl of Surrey; but when his lordship was about to rise for that purpose, lord North addressed himself to the speaker, and observed, that as he understood the motion to be made by the noble earl was similar to that made a few days before, and the object of which was the removal of the ministers, he had such information to communicate to the house, as must, he conceived, render any such motion now unnecessary. He could with authority assure the house, that his majesty

had come to a full determination to change his ministers. Indeed, those persons who had for some time conducted the public affairs, were no longer his majesty's ministers. They were not now to be considered as men holding the reins of government, and transacting measures of state, but merely remaining to do their official duty, till other ministers were appointed to take their places. The sooner those new ministers were appointed, his lordship declared, that, in his opinion, the better it would be for the public business, and the general interests of the nation. He returned thanks to the house for the many instances of favour and indulgence which he had received from them during the course of his administration; and he declared, that he considered himself as responsible, in all senses of the word, for every circumstance of his ministerial conduct, and that he should be ready to answer to his country, whenever he should be called upon for that purpose. Upon this intelligence the motion was withdrawn, and the house adjourned to the Monday following.

Thus ended an administration which had plunged the nation into a war, under the pretext of levying a tax which would not have paid for the collection of it; and which refused every offer of accommodation from the revolted colonies short of the most unconditional submission. The venerable Franklin, and the judicious Penn, were equally insulted with proposals in their hands for the adjustment of the disputed points between the Americans and the mother country. To a very humane application to prevent the effusion of human blood, a puerile and pompous answer was, as we have already stated, returned: "The king's ambassador receives letters from rebels only when they sue for pardon."

It being of the utmost importance that posterity should be acquainted with the characters of those individuals who severed the American provinces from the dominions of Great Britain, by their incapacity and crimes, we shall give them as we find them drawn by a masterly writer*.

* M'Farlan's History of the Reign of George III. vol. iii. p. 5.

Lord North, the prime minister, was a man not destitute of ability, but of that negative character which was incapable of any great or virtuous exertion. By the humble track of progression and seniority, he had passed through the inferior departments of office, and on the secession of the duke of Grafton, had found himself, as if by chance, in the situation of minister. The ductility of disposition which had first marked him out as the passive instrument of an invisible faction, continued him in office. Under him the dispute with America had commenced, though he had more than once professed that the war *was not his*, and that it had been engaged in contrary to his wishes or advice. Those who were not conversant with the man, and who did not know the maxims by which he governed himself, would scarcely believe that such meanness and inconsistency could exist in any person, even of moderate abilities. But lord North was educated from infancy in the school of corruption. Naturally of an easy and pliant temper, that disposition was increased by the maxims he had imbibed. With him the ministers were not the servants of the state, but of the crown, whose orders they had only to execute. The general good was not to be considered, and the means by which the mandates of the executive power were to be accomplished, were justified by the end. Thus, had he been possessed of a great understanding, and capable of extensive views, his principles must have militated against them: But he was not. He was rather a man of wit, than of consummate ability; ready and adroit, rather than wise and sagacious. He seldom looked beyond the moment, and considered the faculty of parrying with dexterity the strokes which were aimed at him in the house of commons, as the first qualification of a minister. Under him corruption and venality are said to have been carried to a greater excess than under any former minister; and what in the hands of Walpole was a casual expedient for the promotion of a particular measure, under this administration was reduced to a regular system of pension and contract.

In delineating the principles of lord North, those of the American secretary have been almost depicted. They

were both educated in the same school, and the same depraved notions of government were professed by both. Lord George Germaine was not a man of great talents : He had less wit than lord North, but perhaps more judgment, and certainly more industry. His panegyrist has said of him that he appeared to be born to contend with misfortune, since, from his first political outset at the battle of Minden, scarcely any one project in which he engaged was known to prosper. This however is at best but a poor extenuation ; since, though prosperity does not necessarily attach to wisdom or merit, and though all men are liable to the casual assaults of ill fortune and adversity, where a general failure in every undertaking is known to attend the whole progress of a life, there is room to suspect at least a defect in the head or in the heart.

Of the noble lord who presided over the naval department, the best panegyric would be total silence. Future historians will do justice to his moral character ; nor can they want materials, while so many facts remain upon record for its illustration, and while the annals of the Old Bailey serve to convey to posterity the affecting narrative of Hackman and Miss Ray. In so barren a wilderness, it would be happy if the prospect was enlivened by the appearance of one solitary virtue ; but he was as destitute of feeling as of principle. Amidst the copious crop of vices which overshadowed his whole character, not even that of cowardice was wanting, to move our contempt as well as our detestation ; and strange it is, that though his sentiments with respect to all religion natural and revealed, are well known, yet so timid was his nature, that, contrary to all his convictions, he could scarcely bear to be left alone. With such a general character, we cannot wonder if in political life he was the decided enemy of his country, and the devoted instrument of a corrupt cabinet. His name, indeed, was never mentioned without exciting sentiments of contempt ; and the mock appellation of Jemmy Twitcher, which was applied to him from the well-known drama of the Beggar's Opera, was intended to convey a censure on his political life, of the

the most degrading kind. If nature had endowed him with talents, the course of dissipation in which he was engaged, must have disqualified him for the exercise of them; but, from our personal knowledge, we can state that he had them not. He possessed an active, but not a strong mind. Practised in the intrigues of courts, and in the debates of parliament, he could speak and reply with some facility; but his ideas never took an extensive range: The details of office, and the petty maxims of court management and intrigue, generally furnished the great outline of his eloquence.

In the winter of 1779, in consequence of the desertion of earl Gower, who had been president of the council, administration had received some accession of ability by the promotion of Mr. Thurlow, from the office of attorney general, to that of lord chancellor, in the room of earl Bathurst, who was removed to the situation which earl Gower had just relinquished. While the general opinion attributes the possession of talents to lord Thurlow, the interests of truth demand that the proposition should be received with considerable qualification. The single circumstance of rising from a mean and obscure origin, to a splendid situation, is apt to impress the multitude with the opinion, that the most brilliant abilities, and the most distinguished qualities, are essential to such a progress: But in the routine of courts, elevation is more frequently the consequence of fortuitous events, or of fortunate connexions, of servile habits, and a pliant conscience, than of merit and ability.

If we examine the parliamentary efforts of lord Thurlow, we shall find in them little that indicates the man of genius, or the possessor of an enlarged and enlightened understanding. In them, no abstract sentiment, no pointed reflection, no witticism, no metaphor distinguished for ingenuity, is to be found. Of the deficiency of his education, and the meanness of his early habits and connexions, the vulgarity of his language and the triteness of his sentiments are sufficient indications. Incapable of elevating his mind to any great or novel conception, he has ever been the avowed advocate of every

vulgar prejudice, of every ancient corruption. Unacquainted with all other science, he has even been charged with inattention to some of those branches immediately connected with his own profession; and his early habits having been formed in the obscure and mechanical drudgery of a mean occupation, a coarseness of manners has accompanied him through life. Conscious, perhaps, that the distinguishing feature in his character is servility, and that to this quality he was chiefly indebted for his advancement, he was desirous of concealing that submission which he practised towards his superiors, by the exercise of insolence and arrogance to all whom fortune had placed in a subordinate station. Like all uneducated persons, he could sometimes join, even to excess, in the praise of him, whom the public voice had extolled; but he was incapable of distinguishing for himself. In the distribution of preferments, he has made a few sacrifices to popularity; but in these his ignorance has betrayed him into error. He has mistaken pomposity for learning, confidence for genius, and sophistry for argument.

As a public speaker, he has been chiefly distinguished by three qualities—invincible assurance, inflexible obstinacy, and a talent for quibble. Yet these were valuable accessions to this miserable administration; and, as almost the whole of their arrangements consisted in a series of little artifices to keep up the delusion of the people, and in the distribution of the rewards of corruption, perhaps such were the only talents which could lend them effectual assistance.

The other members of administration were the mere drudges of office, or the meek pageants of aristocracy, whose weakness and inactivity equally exempted them from responsibility and censure.

While the nation at large evinced the most unfeigned joy at the sudden dissolution of this infamous cabal, it was still feared by many, that great difficulty would arise in the formation of a new and efficient administration, on account of the unfortunate division which had long subsisted among the whigs in opposition to the court. Of the two parties, that of lord Rockingham was by far the

most

most numerous and powerful; but, from various causes easily and distinctly ascertainable by attentive observers, the other party, of which since the death of lord Chatham the earl of Shelburne was accounted the head, were in less disfavour with the king; and the highest department of government was upon this occasion expressly offered to that nobleman by his majesty. For, not to descend to subordinate reasons of preference, it is evident that the chief of the inferior party, lord Shelburne, would, from his comparative weakness of connexion, have been more immediately and necessarily dependant than his competitor lord Rockingham upon the crown for protection and support. But the noble lord had the generosity and wisdom to resist the temptation; and the marquis of Rockingham, to the universal satisfaction of the kingdom, was a second time, in a manner the most honourable and flattering to his character and feelings, placed at the head of the treasury; under whom lord John Cavendish acted as chancellor of the exchequer; the earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox were nominated secretaries of state; lord Camden was appointed president of the council; the duke of Grafton reinstated as lord privy seal; admiral Keppel, now created lord Keppel, placed at the head of the admiralty; general Conway, of the army; the duke of Richmond, of the ordnance. The duke of Portland succeeded lord Carlisle as lord lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. Burke was constituted paymaster of the forces; and colonel Barré, treasurer of the navy. Lord Thurlow alone, by the unaccountable and unmerited indulgence of the new ministers, continued in possession of the great seal.

Previous to their coming into office, the whig ministry stipulated for peace with America, and the acknowledgment of its independence, should it be necessary to that object; a reform in the several branches of the civil list expenditure, upon the plan suggested by Mr. Burke; and the diminution of the influence of the crown by excluding contractors from the house of commons, and by disqualifying revenue officers from voting in elections for members of parliament.

While

While these changes were taking place, the Irish began to be dissatisfied with the opposition which the ministry had manifested to what they considered as their natural rights. At a general meeting of the volunteers of the province of Ulster on the 15th February 1782, it was resolved, "That the claim of any body of men, other than the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind that kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance; that the powers exercised by the privy councils of both kingdoms, under the colour of Poyning's law, are unconstitutional; and that all restraints imposed upon the trade of Ireland, except by the parliament of that kingdom, are likewise unconstitutional." These resolutions they determined to support by every legal means.

The parliament met on the 8th of April; and on the following day Mr. Fox presented a message from his majesty to the house of commons, recommending to them to take the affairs of Ireland into consideration.

In the Irish house of commons the celebrated orator Mr. Grattan moved an address to his majesty, which was unanimously voted, stating, that Ireland was a distinct kingdom, the crown of Ireland an imperial crown; and that no authority except the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, could make laws to bind that nation. It represented the power assumed by the councils of both kingdoms, of altering bills, as an unconstitutional grievance; and insisted upon a mutiny bill, limited in duration, as essential to the liberty of the nation.

Justice and policy seconding the views of Ireland, the obnoxious acts of parliament were immediately repealed; by which the whole powers of government were vested solely in the king, lords, and commons of Ireland; the controlling power of the English parliament, and the practice of altering the bills in the privy council, were renounced for ever.

The parliament of Ireland in return for these concessions immediately voted 100,000*l.* for the purpose of raising 20,000 seamen for the public service. At the same time 50,000*l.* was voted to Henry Grattan, esquire, for his

his services. The gift reflected honour on the munificent and generous nation which conferred it; subsequent events have proved that the favour was misplaced; but in an age of luxury, profligacy, and dissipation, we are not to wonder at the rapacity of courtiers.

Whilst measures were thus happily pursuing for restoring order and tranquillity in the sister kingdom, the new ministry were no less anxiously intent on effectuating a general peace with the different foreign powers with whom the nation was at war. No time was lost in pursuit of this great object, or in taking the necessary steps for its attainment. Accordingly, the empress of Russia having offered her mediation, in order to restore peace between Great Britain and Holland, Mr. secretary Fox, within two days after his entrance into office, wrote a letter to Mons. Simolin, the Russian minister in London, informing him, that his majesty was ready to enter into a negotiation, for the purpose of setting on foot a treaty of peace, on the terms and conditions of that which was agreed to in 1764, between his majesty and the republic of Holland; and that in order to facilitate such a treaty, he was willing to give immediate orders for a suspension of hostilities, if the States-general were disposed to agree to that measure. But the states of Holland did not appear inclined to a separate peace; nor, perhaps, would it have been agreeable to the principles of sound policy, if they had agreed to any propositions of this kind. However, immediately after the change of ministry, negotiations for a general peace were commenced at Paris. Mr. Grenville was invested with full powers to treat with all the parties at war; and was also directed to propose the independency of the thirteen united provinces of America, in the first instance, instead of making it a condition of a general treaty. Admiral Digby and general Carleton were also directed to acquaint the American congress with the pacific views of the British court, and with the offer that was made to acknowledge the independency of the United States.

The British parliament prosecuted with vigour the plans of reformation and economy, which had been recommended

commended by the new ministry. The bills for excluding contractors from seats in the house of commons, and incapacitating revenue officers from voting at elections for members of parliament, were passed with a feeble opposition from lord Mansfield and the chancellor, the latter declaring it to be a "*puny* regulation, only calculated to deceive and betray the people." Every good patriot will indeed agree with the noble lord in the truth of the assertion, that it was a "*puny*," that is, an inefficient "*regulation*," but on very different principles. Mr. Burke's bill for the reform of the civil list expenditure was introduced with augmented splendour, but diminished utility. By this bill, which now passed the house with little difficulty, the board of trade, and the board of works, with the great wardrobe, were abolished; together with the office of American secretary of state, now rendered useless by the loss of the American colonies; the offices of treasurer of the chamber, cofferer of the household, the lords of police in Scotland, the paymaster of the pensions, the master of the harriers, the master of the stag-hounds, and six clerks of the board of green cloth. Provision also was made to enable his majesty to borrow a sum for the liquidation of a new arrear of three hundred thousand pounds, by a tax on salaries and pensions; for a debt to this amount had been again contracted by the shameful prodigality of the late ministers, notwithstanding the addition of one hundred thousand pounds per annum, so recently made to the civil list.

The economical abolitions and retrenchments of the reform bill met with a violent opposition in the upper house, from the lords Thurlow and Loughborough, but it finally passed by a great majority. A bill sent up from the commons, for disfranchising certain voters of the borough of Cricklade, who had been proved guilty of the most shameful and scandalous acts of bribery, was also impeded and embarrassed in all its stages by the same law lords, with every possible subtilty of legal quibble and chicanery. The duke of Richmond was upon this occasion provoked to charge the chancellor with indiscriminately opposing every measure of regulation and improvement

ment which was laid before the house. And lord Fortescue, with unguarded but honest warmth, remarked, "that what he had long feared was at length come to pass; from the profusion of lawyers introduced into that house, it was no longer an house of lords, it was converted into a mere court of law, where all the solid and honourable principles of truth and justice were sacrificed to the low and miserable chicanery used in Westminster Hall. That once venerable, dignified, and august assembly, now resembled more a meeting of pettifoggers than an house of parliament. With respect to the learned lord on the woolstack, who had now for some years presided in that house, he seemed to be fraught with nothing but contradictions and distinctions and law subtilties. As to himself," lord Fortescue with a noble pride added, "he had not attended a minister's levee, till very lately, for these forty years; and the present ministry he would support no longer than they deserved it. But as they came into office upon the most honourable and laudable of all principles, the approbation of their sovereign, and the esteem and confidence of the nation, it filled his breast with indignation when he beheld their measures day after day thwarted and opposed, by men who resembled more a set of Cornish attornies than members of that right honourable house."

On the 3d of May, on the motion of Mr. Wilkes, seconded by Mr. Byng, the celebrated vote of the 17th of February 1769, relative to the Middlesex election, was rescinded and expunged from the journals, as well as all the other motions relative to the incapacity of Mr. Wilkes to take his seat in that parliament.

On the 22d of April, the lord advocate of Scotland moved a long series of resolutions relative to the affairs of the East India company, which were passed by the house, and on the 29th a bill for inflicting pains and penalties on sir Thomas Rumbold, for high crimes and misdemeanours committed during his administration in the Carnatic; and another for restraining sir Thomas Rumbold, and Peter Perring, Esq. from going out of the kingdom; were introduced under the same authority. A vote
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of censure was soon afterwards passed on the conduct of Warren Hastings, Esq. governor-general in Bengal, and William Hornsby, Esq. president of the council in Bombay; and a declaration, that it was the duty of the court of directors to take the necessary legal steps for their recal. Several resolutions were also passed censuring the conduct of Laurence Sullivan, Esq. chairman of the court of directors, for neglecting to transmit the act for the regulation of the company's servants in India. An address to the king was also agreed to by the house, pressing for the recal of sir Elijah Impey.

On the 7th of May Mr. Pitt made a motion "that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the state of the representation, and to report to the house their opinion thereon." Though ably supported by several members, the motion was rejected by 161 against 141. While this patriotic ministry were reforming abuses at home, our fleets and armies were reaping laurels abroad. In the beginning of the year, however, Great Britain experienced some adverse fortune—the island of Minorca was taken by the Spaniards, on the 5th of February, after a close siege of upwards of six months. On the 1st of January the marquis de Bouille landed on the island of St. Christopher with eight thousand men, and was supported by the count de Grasse, with thirty-two ships of the line. After a pressing siege of four weeks, the fortress on Brimstone-hill, to which the British forces had retired upon the approach of the enemy, was compelled to surrender, though sir Samuel Hood had made a bold effort to relieve the island with his fleet. Nevis and Montserrat followed the fortune of St. Christopher's; but the naval career of the French and Spaniards was fortunately interrupted in the beginning of February, by the arrival of sir George Rodney, with twelve ships of the line at Barbadoes, which were augmented by the beginning of March to a fleet of thirty-six sail of the line; that of the French consisting only of thirty-four. On the 8th of April, the count de Grasse weighed anchor from Fort Royal, with a large convoy under his protection, and intended to proceed to Hispaniola, where he expected to meet the Spanish fleet. But

But the British admiral, by means of good intelligence, was enabled to follow them by noon of the same day, from Gros-islet bay, in St. Lucia, and came within sight of the enemy off Dominique that night. Both fleets prepared for action by day-break on the succeeding day. The English, however, lay becalmed under the high lands of Dominique, till near nine o'clock, when the breeze at length reached the fleet, and carried the van directly into the centre of the enemy, while the centre and the rear of the English were still becalmed. The French admiral could not resist the temptation of falling upon one third of the force of his adversaries, with his whole fleet. The combat commenced with the van of the English, which was greatly pressed for more than an hour by the superior force of the enemy. Upon the approach of some ships to the assistance of the van, the French admiral perceived he had failed in his design of crushing the first division of the British; he therefore withdrew his fleet from the action, and having the command of the wind completely evaded all the efforts of the British commanders for its renewal. Two of the French ships were so much disabled as to be under the necessity of putting into Guadaloupe to refit. The damages the English received were not so great, but that they were reparable at sea. On the 11th the French were so far to the windward as to weather Guadaloupe; and had gained such a distance, that the body of their fleet could only be perceived from the masts of the English centre. About noon, however, two of the disabled ships were observed to fall considerably to leeward. The British admiral made signals for a general chase; and the pursuit soon became so vigorous that these ships must have been inevitably cut off before the evening, had not M. de Grasse born down to their assistance. The scene of action is described as a moderately large basin of water, lying between the islands of Guadaloupe, Dominique, the Saints, and Marigalante. The hostile fleets met upon opposite tacks; and the line of battle being formed early in the morning of the 12th, the battle commenced about seven, and continued with unremitting fury till about the same hour in the evening. The ships were

so near each other that every shot took place; and those of the French being full of men, a dreadful carnage ensued. The Formidable, sir George Rodney's ship, fired no less than eighty broadsides, and every other ship in proportion; and the gallantry of the French was in no instance inferior to that of their opponents.

About noon the British admiral, with his seconds the Duke and the Namur, broke through the enemy's line; and immediately throwing out the signals for the van to tack, the British got to windward, and completed the general confusion of the French squadron. In this state the contest continued with unabated violence till the close of the day, when the admiral's ship, the Ville de Paris, struck to sir Samuel Hood in the Barfleur. Four other ships of the line were taken; one was sunk, and another blew up in the action. The French are said to have lost near three thousand men, and to have had double that number wounded; but this estimate is supposed to be over-rated. The English had two hundred and fifty-three killed, and about seven hundred wounded. Among the officers who fell, were captain Blair, of the Anson; and lord Robert Manners, son to the celebrated marquis of Granby, who, having received a dangerous wound, died on his return to England. Sir Samuel Hood pursued the flying squadron, and on the 19th overtook and captured two of them in the Mona Passage, the Jason and the Caton, with two frigates. Sir George Rodney immediately proceeded with the ships and prizes for Jamaica, and on his return to England, was honoured with an English, and sir Samuel Hood with an Irish peerage.

This victorious fleet, however, suffered afterwards from the inclemency of the elements. On the 26th of July, admiral Graves sailed from Jamaica, with seven ships of the line, including the Ville de Paris and some other of the prizes, the Pallas frigate, and about one hundred sail of merchantmen. The admiral had not been long at sea, before the Hector of seventy-four guns, one of the prizes, from her bad condition, lost company with the fleet, and was never able afterwards to recover it. On the 8th of September, the Caton of sixty-four guns, another

of the French vessels, sprung a leak in a hard gale of wind, and the admiral ordered both her and the Pallas to Halifax to refit. This was only a prelude to their future misfortunes; for on the 10th the fleet and convoy, which still amounted to nearly ninety, encountered, on the banks of Newfoundland, one of the most dreadful storms which was ever known in that quarter. The hurricane increased during the night, and was accompanied with a dreadful deluge of rain. At ten o'clock in the morning, the Ramillies, the admiral's ship, had five feet of water in her hold, and she was obliged to part with several of her guns and other heavy articles, to enable her to keep afloat. The water increasing, the admiral removed the people on board some of the merchantmen. About four o'clock the water in her hold was increased to fifteen feet, and at the same period she was so completely set on fire, that captain Moriarty and the people had quitted her but a few minutes when she blew up.

The fate of the Centaur was still more dreadful. After losing her masts and rudder, she was by the unwearied exertions of the crew kept afloat till the 23d; but the struggle was then at an end. The ship rapidly filling with water, while the aspect of the sea indicated that neither boat nor raft could live for any length of time, the majority of the crew had given themselves up for lost, and remained below. In this extremity captain Inglefield came upon deck, and observed that a few of the people had forced their way into the pinnance, and others were preparing to follow; upon this he threw himself into the boat, but found much difficulty in getting clear of the ship's side, from the violence of the crowd that was pressing to follow his example. Of all these Mr. Baylis only, a youth of seventeen, who threw himself into the waves and swam after the boat, had the good fortune to be taken in. The number of the persons who were thus committed to the mercy of the waves, amounted to twelve; their whole stock of provisions consisted of a bag of bread, a small ham, a single piece of pork, a few French cordials, and one quart bottle of water. A minute detail of their sufferings would exceed our bounds; suffice it to

say, that they were sixteen days exposed in this forlorn state; when at length their provision and water being totally exhausted, they were happy enough to gain the port of Fayal. The rest of the crew, it is presumed, perished with the vessel.

For an account of the fate of the *Ville de Paris*, and the *Glorieux*, the public are indebted to a singular accident. A Danish merchant-ship returning from the West Indies, found a man floating upon a piece of a wreck, who appears to have been insensible when taken on board. When restored to his senses, he reported that his name was Wilson; that he had been a seaman on board the *Ville de Paris*; and added, that when she was going to pieces, he clung to a part of the wreck, and remained in a state of insensibility during most of the time that he continued in the water; he perfectly recollected that the *Glorieux* had foundered, and that he saw her go down on the day preceding that on which the *Ville de Paris* perished:

The crew of the *Hector*, after suffering great hardships, were saved by the good fortune of meeting with a merchant-ship called the *Hawke*, commanded by Thomas Hill, of Dartmouth, who humanely received them on board his own vessel, and conveyed them to Newfoundland. The *Hector* had previously had a desperate engagement with two of the enemy's frigates, who left her in that miserable condition in which the merchant-ship found her. Thus of seven ships of the line, which composed the Jamaica squadron, only two, the *Canada* and the *Caton*, escaped.

The victory of Rodney was in some measure damped by the taking of the Bahama Islands by the Spaniards on the 8th of May, which were found in a defenceless state by the enemy. This loss was however again nearly compensated by the capture of Acra, and four other Dutch forts on the coast of Africa, by captain Shirley in the *Leander*. On the 5th of January, also, sir Edward Hughes reduced the town of Trincomalé belonging to the Dutch, in the island of Ceylon.

The contest in America languished during the greater part of the campaign, and the tranquillity of the northern states

states was only disturbed by some predatory excursions, and some acts of barbarity, one of which it is necessary to relate with its consequences. The refugees who had fled to New-York were formed into an association under sir Henry Clinton, for the purposes of retaliating on the Americans, and for reimbursing the losses they had sustained from their countrymen. The depredations they committed in their several excursions would fill a volume, and would answer little purpose but to excite compassion and horror. Towards the close of the war, they began to retaliate on a bolder scale. Captain Joshua Huddy, who commanded a small party of Americans at a block-house, in Monmouth county, New Jersey, was, after a gallant resistance, taken prisoner by a party of these refugees. He was brought to New-York on the 2d of April, and there kept in close custody fifteen days, and then told "that he was ordered to be hanged." Four days after, he was sent out with a party of refugees, and hanged on the heights of Middleton. The following label was affixed on his breast: "We the refugees having long with grief beheld the cruel murders of our brethren, and finding nothing but such measures daily carrying into execution; we therefore determine not to suffer without taking vengeance for the numerous cruelties, and thus begin, and have made use of captain Huddy as the first object to present to your view, and further determine to hang man for man, while there is a refugee existing: Up goes Huddy for Philip White." The Philip White in retaliation for whom Huddy was hanged, had been taken by a party of the Jersey militia, and was killed in attempting to make his escape.

General Washington resolved on retaliation for this deliberate murder; but instead of immediately executing a British officer, he wrote to sir Henry Clinton, that unless the murderers of Huddy were given up, he should be under the necessity of retaliating. The former being refused, captain Apgill was designated by lot for that purpose. In the mean time the British instituted a court martial for the trial of captain Lippencutt, who was supposed to be the principal agent in executing captain Huddy. It appeared in the course of this trial, that governor Fran-

lin, the president of the board of associated loyalists, gave Lippencutt verbal orders for what he did, and that he had been designated as a proper subject for retaliation, having been, as the refugees stated, a persecutor of the loyalists, and particularly as having been instrumental in hanging Stephen Edwards, who had been one of that description. The court having considered the whole matter, gave their opinion, "That as what Lippencutt did was not the effect of malice or ill-will, but proceeded from a conviction that it was his duty to obey the orders of the board of directors of associated loyalists, and as he did not doubt their having full authority to give such orders, he was not guilty of the murder laid to his charge; and therefore they acquitted him." Sir Guy Carleton, who a little before this time had been appointed commander in chief of the British army, in a letter to general Washington, accompanying the trial of Lippencutt, declared, "that notwithstanding the acquittal of Lippencutt, he reprobated the measure, and gave assurances of prosecuting a farther inquiry." Sir Guy Carleton about the same time broke up the board of associated loyalists, which prevented a repetition of similar excesses. The war also drawing near a close, the motives for retaliation as tending to prevent other murders, in a great measure ceased. In the mean time general Washington received a letter from the count de Vergennes, interceding for captain Apgill, which was also accompanied with a very pathetic one from his mother, lady Apgill, to the count. Copies of these several letters were forwarded to congress, and soon after they resolved, "that the commander in chief be directed to set captain Apgill at liberty." The lovers of humanity rejoiced that the necessity for retaliation was superseded, by the known humanity of the new commander in chief, and still more by the well-founded prospect of a speedy peace. Apgill, who had received every indulgence, and who had been treated with all possible politeness, was released and permitted to go to New-York.

In the southern states, from December 1781, general Greene had possession of all Carolina, except Charlestown and the vicinity. The British sometimes sallied out to

their lines for the acquisition of property and provisions, but never for the purpose of conquest. In opposing one of these near Combahee, lieutenant-colonel John Laurens, an accomplished officer of uncommon merit, was mortally wounded.

At the commencement of the year 1782, the British had a more extensive range in Georgia than in any other of the United States; but of this they were soon abridged. From the unsuccessful issue of the assault on Savannah in 1779, that state had eminently suffered the desolations of war. Political hatred raged to such a degree, that the blood of its citizens was daily shed by the hands of each other, contending under the names of whigs and tories. A few of the friends of the revolution kept together in the western settlements, and exercised the powers of independent government. The whole extent between these and the capital, was subject to the alternate ravages of both parties. After the surrender of lord Cornwallis, general Greene being reinforced by the Pennsylvania line, was enabled to detach general Wayne with a part of the southern army to Georgia. General Clarke, who commanded in Savannah, on hearing of their advance, sent orders to his officers in the out-posts, to burn, as far as they could, all the provisions in the country, and then to retire within the lines at the capital. The country being evacuated by the British, the governor came with his council from Augusta to Ebenezer *, and re-established government in the vicinity of the sea coast.

Colonel Brown at the head of a considerable force marched out of the garrison at Savannah, with the apparent intention of attacking the Americans. General Wayne by a bold manœuvre got in his rear, attacked him at twelve o'clock at night, and routed his whole party. A large number of Creek Indians, headed by a number of their chiefs and a British officer, made a furious attack on Wayne's infantry in the night. For a few minutes they possessed themselves of his field-pieces, but they were soon recovered. In the mean time colonel White with a party of the cavalry came up, and pressed hard upon them.

* May 21st, 1782.

Both sides engaged in close quarters. The Indians displayed uncommon bravery, but were at length completely routed. Shortly after this affair, a period was put to the calamities of war in that ravaged state; the parliament having resolved to abandon all offensive operations in America. Every idea of conquest therefore being given up, arrangements were made for withdrawing the royal forces from Georgia and South-Carolina. Peace was restored to Georgia, after it had been upwards of three years in the possession of the British, and had been ravaged nearly from one extreme to another. It is computed that the state lost by the war, one thousand of its citizens, besides four thousand slaves. In about five months after the British left Georgia, they withdrew their force from South-Carolina. The inhabitants of Charlestown, who had remained there, while it was possessed by the British, felt themselves happy in being delivered from the severities of a garrison life. The exiled citizens collected from all quarters, and took possession of their estates. Thus in less than three years from the landing of the British in South-Carolina, they withdrew all their forces from it. In that time the citizens had suffered an accumulation of evils. There was scarcely an inhabitant, however obscure in character, or remote in situation, whether he remained firm to one party, or changed with the times, who did not partake of the general distress.

In modern Europe the revolution of public affairs seldom disturbs the humble obscurity of private life; but the American revolution involved the interest of every family, and deeply affected the fortunes and happiness of almost every individual in the United States. South-Carolina lost a great number of its citizens, and upwards of 20,000 of its slaves. Property was sported with by both parties. Besides those who fell in battle, or died of diseases brought on by the war, many were inhumanly murdered by private assassinations. The country abounded with widows and orphans. The severities of a military life co-operating with the climate, destroyed the healths and lives of many hundreds of the invading army. Excepting those who enriched themselves by plunder, and

and a few successful speculators, no private advantage was gained by individuals on either side, but an experimental conviction of the folly and madness of war.

In Europe the conclusion of the campaign was not less glorious for Great Britain, than it had been in the West Indies. The reduction of Minorca inspired the Spanish nation with fresh motives to perseverance. The duke de Crillon, who had been recently successful in the siege of Minorca, was appointed to conduct the siege of Gibraltar, and it was resolved to employ the whole strength of the Spanish monarchy in seconding his operations. No means were neglected, nor expense spared, that promised to forward the views of the besiegers. From the failure of all plans hitherto adopted for effecting the reduction of Gibraltar, it was resolved to adopt new ones. Among the various projects for this purpose, one which had been formed by the chevalier d'Arcon was deemed the most worthy of trial. This was to construct such floating batteries as could neither be sunk nor fired. With this view, their bottoms were made of the thickest timber, and their sides of wood and cork long soaked in water, with a large layer of wet sand between.

To prevent the effects of red hot balls, a number of pipes were contrived to carry water through every part of them, and pumps were provided to keep these constantly supplied with water. The people on board were to be sheltered from the fall of bombs by a cover of rope netting, which was made sloping, and overlaid with wet hides.

These floating batteries, ten in number, were made out of the hulls of large vessels, cut down for the purpose, and carried from 28 to 30 guns each, and were seconded by 80 large boats mounted with guns of heavy metal, and also by a multitude of frigates, ships of force, and some hundreds of small craft.

General Elliott, the intrepid defender of Gibraltar, was not ignorant that inventions of a peculiar kind were prepared against him, but knew nothing of their construction. He nevertheless provided for every circumstance of danger that could be foreseen or imagined. The 13th day of September was fixed upon by the besiegers.

for making a grand attack, when the new-invented machines, with all the united powers of gunpowder and artillery in their highest state of improvement, were to be called into action. The combined fleets of France and Spain in the bay of Gibraltar amounted to 48 sail of the line. Their batteries were covered with 154 pieces of heavy brass cannon. The numbers employed by land and sea against the fortress were estimated at one hundred thousand men. With this force, and by the fire of 300 cannon, mortars, and howitzers, from the adjacent isthmus, it was intended to attack every part of the British works at one and the same instant. The surrounding hills were covered with people assembled to behold the spectacle. The cannonade and bombardment was tremendous. The showers of shot and shells from the land batteries and the ships of the besiegers, and from the various works of the garrison, exhibited a most dreadful scene. Four hundred pieces of the heaviest artillery were playing at the same moment. The whole peninsula seemed to be overwhelmed in the torrents of fire which were incessantly poured upon it. The Spanish floating batteries for some time answered the expectations of their framers. The heaviest shells often rebounded from their tops, while thirty-two pound shot made no visible impression upon their hulls. For some hours the attack and defence were so equally supported, as scarcely to admit any appearance of superiority on either side. The construction of the battering ships was so well calculated for withstanding the combined force of fire and artillery, that they seemed for some time to bid defiance to the powers of the heaviest ordnance. In the afternoon the effects of hot shot became visible. At first there was only an appearance of smoke, but in the course of the night, after the fire of the garrison had continued about 15 hours, two of the floating batteries were in flames, and several more were visibly beginning to kindle. The endeavours of the besiegers were now exclusively directed to bring off the men from the burning vessels; but in this they were interrupted. Captain Curtis, who lay ready with 12 gun-boats, advanced and fired upon them with such order and expedition, as to throw them into confusion
before

before they had finished their business. They fled with their boats, and abandoned to their fate great numbers of their people. The opening of day-light disclosed a most dreadful spectacle. Many were seen in the midst of the flames crying out for help, while others were floating upon pieces of timber, exposed to equal danger from the opposite element. The generous humanity of the victors equalled their valour, and was the more honourable, as the exertions of it exposed them to no less danger than those of active hostility. In endeavouring to save the lives of his enemies, captain Curtis nearly lost his own. While for the most benevolent purpose he was along-side the floating batteries, one of them blew up, and some heavy pieces of timber fell into his boat, and pierced through its bottom. By similar perilous exertions, near 400 men were saved from inevitable destruction. The exercise of humanity to an enemy under such circumstances of immediate action and impending danger, conferred more true honour than could be acquired by the most splendid series of victories. It in some degree obscured the impression made to the disadvantage of human nature, by the madness of mankind in destroying each other by wasteful wars. The floating batteries were all consumed. The violence of their explosion was such, as to burst open doors and windows at a great distance. Soon after the destruction of the floating batteries, lord Howe, with 35 ships of the line, brought to the brave garrison an ample supply of every thing wanted, either for their support or their defence. This complete relief of Gibraltar was the third decisive event in the course of a twelve-month, which favoured the re-establishment of a general peace.

The prosperity of nations often depends upon unforeseen contingencies. We have seen the government in the year 1782, wrested out of the unskilful hands which had conducted it almost to the verge of destruction; and the whole ability, the patriotism, the landed interest of the nation, at once united in support of an administration formed on the most popular basis. But this pleasing prospect was clouded by the lamented death of
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the marquis of Rockingham on the first of July. He was the centre of union which kept the jarring particles of the whig interest united. A few days after the death of the marquis, a meeting of the Rockingham party was convened by Mr. Fox, the avowed object of which was, to defeat the appointment of lord Shelburne to the situation of prime minister. At this meeting it was agreed to support the nomination of the duke of Portland to the first office in the treasury, and that Mr. Fox should wait on his majesty with this resolve. It is said that Mr. Fox arrived at the royal closet only in time to learn that the treasurer's staff had just been committed to the hands of lord Shelburne. It is added, that Mr. Fox then requested leave to name the new secretary of state; and, on being informed that the office was already disposed of, he requested permission to resign, and was followed by lord John Cavendish, the duke of Portland, Mr. Burke, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Montague, lord Althorpe, lord Duncannon, Mr. J. Townshend, and Mr. Lee.

The Shelburne administration was respectable, but it was feeble: It wanted both parliamentary interest and parliamentary ability. Lord Grantham, a nobleman more distinguished by his amiable character than by the extent of his abilities, succeeded to the office of Mr. Fox, Mr. W. Pitt was made chancellor of the exchequer, and earl Temple succeeded the duke of Portland as lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Though lord Shelburne had formerly declared in the house of lords, "that whenever the parliament of Great Britain should acknowledge the independence of America, the sun of England's glory was set for ever;" he took occasion to observe, in the same house, when he came into administration, that he now considered it as a necessary evil to which the country must inevitably submit.

THE END OF VOL. III.

Barlow, Joel

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